

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume LXII



JANUARY—MARCH

1937

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1938

PLATO : THE MAN

WINDPELL THOMAS, S. T. M., PH. D.
New York

A tall, athletic, handsome young man of twenty-eight is standing before the office of the chief judge in Athens on a Spring morning in the year 399 B. C. A gentle breeze cools the heat of the brilliant sun. Green hills and the golden marble temples of the Acropolis are set sharply against a clear blue sky. Beyond lies the wide-stretching sea. The gaze of the young man is intent on the wall where a parchment, recently posted, bears a peculiar public notice:

INDICTMENT

Socrates is guilty of crime: first, for not worshipping the gods whom the city worships, but introducing new divinities of his own; next, for corrupting the youth. Penalty: Death.

Passers-by pause a moment to scan the legend—among them, a scholar with a book-roll in the folds of his mantle, a carpenter with saw and square, and a farmer with a basket of olives. Now comes a

pair of dandies with rings on their fingers. They stop, read, and smirk. One of them turns to the other :

"They're going to kill him talking too much!"

Just then he sees the athletic young man and subsides.

"By the gods," he mutters to his companion as he leads him away, "that's Plato, son of Ariston and Perictione, one of Socrates' friends. I'd hate to anger that lad—he can fight too well. I saw him in action once near the end of the War, when he led a cavalry charge against the Spartan raiders!"

Meanwhile, Aristocles, known as Plato, "the Broad," is contemplating the inscription.

"Monstrous!" he snorts, "What a farce—why, Socrates is the most righteous man in Athens!"

Then, with bowed head, he murmurs, "My dear master—his keen wit has injured their pride." Then a shock: "Will they get rid of me too?" Like a drowning man he beholds his entire past life flash before him:

Happy days as a child with mother and nurses, tops and games, older brothers Adeimantus and Glaucon, sister Potone, and then Antiphon, younger brother...to school at the age of seven, holding the hand of the pedagogue; music in school on the lyre and zither; Homer's *Iliad*, telling its story of Achilles and Hector in shining armor wielding deadly weapons on the plain below Troy; the *Odyssey*, with its tale of Odysseus and his companions braving Poseidon's wrath on the sea; Hesiod's *Theogony*, depicting Zeus, the King of Olympus, father of gods and men, and Apollo, the master of music and medicine, common ancestor of the Athenians—then gymnastics on the wrestling ground, with naked bodies gleaming in the sun, running, jumping, boxing, hurling the discus and javelin, wrestling under Ariston, the expert from Argos, wrestling for the laurel wreath in the Isthmian games...

And all the while war with Sparta: Athens, ruler of Attica and the colonies, mistress of the seas and the islands, against Sparta, ruler of the peninsula to the south, mistress of the land, Sparta with her matchless phalanx of heavy-armed warriors who never retreat: the Athenian countryside ravaged by Spartans, homes in ashes, shrines desecrated, orchards destroyed, country folk packed with city folk behind Athenian fortifications and the two long walls to the seaport

Piræus; the outbreak of pestilence, people moaning and dying, heaped up in piles; stench, terror, hordes of vermin, prayers to Athena, ceremonial sacrifices...then at eighteen the call to arms: horses, javelins, ambushes, onslaughts, retreats, battered armor, funeral rites.

At home his stepfather Pylampes urging him to enter politics to support the strong imperial policy of his friend Pericles, who had made Athens splendid with temples and commerce; at the wrestling ground, the wise man Cratylus expounding the teaching of Heraclitus that the sense-world is only a process of conflict and change...and now a dip into painting, and now a passion for poetry: the tragic poets, Aeschyles and Sophocles; the comic poets Epicharmus and Sophron—Plato himself writes drama, he writes love lyrics...

When he hears the teaching of his father's friend Socrates, he consigns his poems to the flames with a call to the god of fire: 'Hither, Hephaestus! Plato needs thee now!'¹

For Socrates elevates the soul higher than poetry; with the face of Silenus, the heart of a saint, and the conviction that all virtue is knowledge, he visits men at their homes, in the market-places, by the wrestling ground, on the court house steps, under a plane tree by a limpid stream, talking with boys about friendship, with a general about courage, with a Sophist about teaching, ever inspired by his good genius to discover truth beneath the prejudice of the dogmatist and the bombast of the skeptic...Here at last is a man whom the twenty-years-old Plato can trust, a man bent on finding something solid and sure amid the flux of strife and opinion.

After many years the war ends with Sparta triumphant. In the consequent bloody confusion the Athenian politicians seem to be madly bent on doing away with Socrates, the truest friend of Athens.

"I've finished with public life!" cries Plato.

With a deep breath he recovers from reverie. He is standing alone. Perhaps the trial has already begun! He starts to go to his master. He will stay with him through the trial, giving him aid in spite of the danger...

* * *

Ten years have elapsed.

1. This quotation has been taken from legend. Few facts are known about Plato's life. The present story is constructed from fact and probability.

Plato is writing. With rapid strokes of stylus on wax he is making Socrates say: "Renouncing the honors at which the world aims, I desire only to know the truth and to live as well as I can...And to the utmost of my power I exhort all other men to do the same."²

Soon Plato lays down the stylus and leans back in triumph. The *Gorgias* is finished, a dialogue in which Socrates defends the ideal of health in soul and state. It is the last of a series of a dozen or more dialogues, including the *Charmides*, on temperance; the *Laches*, on courage; the *Lysis*, on friendship; the *Euthyphro*, on piety; the *Apology*, describing Socrates' trial; the *Crito*, describing his death; and the *Protagoras*, on the teaching of virtue. The disciple has now fulfilled a vow of love—he has immortalised his master Socrates in art.

What to do next? Ah, that is the question!

Plato is tired—not so fatigued in body as weary in soul. He is nearing middle age, and the future looks blank.

He was ill; he remembers, when Socrates drank the hemlock; but he arose and fled to Megara with other friends of the master.³ Thence he sailed south to the seaport city of Cyrene in Africa to study under Theodorus the mathematician.⁴ Then he wandered to Egypt, where the steady rule of the priests was like balm to his soul.⁵

On his safe return home he found the Athenians preoccupied with another war against Sparta. With the noble cavalry suit he sped northward to the shore of misty Lake Copais, where the combined troops of Athens and Thebes defeated the valiant Spartans and killed Lysander, their king. A year later he rode from Athens westward to Corinth, helped to cut a Spartan phalanx to pieces and was decorated for valor in the field.

Yet his mind was ever on Socrates, and between battles he would seek quiet in Athens to portray the master's conversation in the fitting art-form of the dialogue.

This work of devotion is now finished. Plato yawns, stretches, opens his eyes, and seeks relief in a book which he used to keep under

2. *Gorgias*, 526 (Jowett tr.).

3. That Plato was ill at this time is mentioned in the *Phaedo*.

4. That Plato visited Cyrene is doubtful but probable.

5. That Plato visited Egypt is likewise doubtful but probable. In any case, he exhibits familiarity with certain Egyptian customs, and admiration for Egyptian methods and stability.

6. G. C. Field, *Plato and His Contemporaries*, p. 6.

his pillow in youth, a book of Epicharmus, the Pythagorean comic poet. He loves Epicharmus both for his broad humor and for his vision of nature gained from Pythagoras. As he reads, he feels a new thrill, different from the excitement of battle or the zest of Socratic discourse—a thrill which comes from insight into reality. His low-burning spirit rekindles. He must find some living Pythagorean, and study the world through his eyes! Ah—there is Archytas, chief of Tarentum, that splendid Hellenic city snuggling in the angle of Italy's "heel"—the renowned general Archytas, who has never lost a campaign—he is known to be a Pythagorean.

With a joy which he has not felt for ten years, Plato sails for Tarentum.

At Tarentum Plato met and fraternized with Archytas, who exceeded his expectation of what a statesman should be.

Intellectually satisfied, he proceeded to Sicily to view the volcanoes, and stopped at Syracuse, a luxurious Sicilian city which its tyrant Dionysius had made the most powerful in the Hellenic world—yes, more powerful even than Athens. Here he met a young man of about twenty, named Dion, whose sister the tyrant had recently married. Dion was a wealthy, noble youth, eager for learning: Plato was full of ideas: the two were meant for each other. As Plato had been a beloved disciple of Socrates, so Dion became a beloved disciple of Plato, and "resolved in future to lead a very different kind of life from that of the ordinary Italian or Sicilian, and to love goodness more than pleasure or luxury in general."⁷

Plato was now overflowing with good spirits: making his way back to Athens, he chose a delightful suburban garden named the Academy, and there founded the first school dedicated to scientific pursuits. At the age of forty, after years of learning, fighting, and travelling, he found his true work in life to be education.

While establishing this college, which became known as the Academy, from its location, he devoted himself to writing a new set of dialogues: the *Meno*, on innate ideas; the *Phaedo*, on immortality; the *Symposium*, on love; the *Republic*, on justice; and the *Phaedrus*, on a variety of subjects. His first set of dialogues, ending with the

7. The same, p. 17; quoting from Plato's seventh epistle.

Gorgias, had been dedicated to the memory of Socrates: this second group was inspired by Archytas and his companions in the Pythagorean cult. True to his early love, however, Plato made Socrates the chief speaker in these works as well.

Within the Academy freedom of thought was encouraged. After a period of individual research the members would come together for a seminar, following the rule of Plato that "words and statements and visual images and sense perceptions.....must be tried and tested in friendly disputation by the ungrudging use of questions and answers."

* * *

In 368, when Plato was in his sixtieth year, he received a letter from his younger friend Dion in Syracuse. The great tyrant Dionysius had died at the height of his power, leaving his realm to his son Dionysius II. Two parties were struggling for control over the mind of the young ruler: the reform party led by his uncle, Dion himself; and the plunder party led by the historian Philistus. Dion was asking his beloved master Plato to come and guide the young Dionysius into the path of constructive statesmanship.

Raising his eyes, Plato pondered. He was no longer a young man; travel and fighting made no appeal; he was preoccupied with his own "by no means contemptible interests" in the Academy; a tyrant's courts would be most uncomfortable for a thinker accustomed to freedom. On the other hand, he loved Dion.....His eyes fell again to the letter.

"Now, if ever," he read, "is there a good chance that your own ideal can be realized, and *true love of wisdom and power over a great dominion* be united in the same persons."

A spark of the old fire flared up in Plato's heart: renouncing the serene study of ideas, he resolved to wrestle with politics.

In Syracuse he found his hands full. The palace air was thick with intrigue. Dionysius was a clever, affectionate youth who preferred excitement to discipline, and craved Plato's love more than his guidance: so he flatly refused all instruction. The philosopher then turned directly to statecraft: realizing that Syracuse was an outpost of Hellenic civilization in the West, he urged the speedy

8. The same, p. 37; quoting from Plato's seventh epistle.

9. The same, p. 20.

recolonization of the cities destroyed by Carthage in the late war. But his hands were tied by the despot's jealousy of Dion and refusal of advice. So he sailed back to Athens, hoping to return at a more favourable time.

During his absence two new students had entered the Academy. One was Heraclides, a wealthy citizen from Heraclea on the Black Sea. The other was a boy of seventeen from Stagira in Macedon; his name was Aristotle.

While advancing his academic work, Plato was surprised to receive letter after letter from Dionysius, urging him to visit Syracuse once more.

Again Plato took ship for Sicily, and in 362 entered Syracuse for the third time.

The young tyrant now set himself to study earnestly under the aging philosopher. But his old jealousy of Dion flared up, even though Dion was far away in Athens at the Academy. Suddenly he seized and sold off Dion's entire property in Syracuse.

Plato was now faced with a crisis. He loved Dionysius as a tender father loves a promising child. Yet the powerful child hated Dion, and had resolved on his ruin. Why? Because of the love between Dion and Plato. By renouncing Dion he might win the young tyrant's devotion and thus transform the state into a rational community. But at what cost? At the cost of disloyalty to Dion, a true friend, a lover of wisdom, and a just man. No! He must not renounce Dion. Sorrowfully he decided to bid farewell to his passion-twisted young friend Dionysius.

But the fiery youth, clinging to him like a lover, would not let him go.

The mercenary soldiers, who connected their recent pay-out with Plato's reforms, threatened to cut the reformer's throat.

In desperation Plato sent word to his friend Archytas, the Pythagorean king of Tarentum.

Surprisingly soon came ambassadors from Tarentum, and "by the way," as it were, persuaded Dionysius to let Plato return with them.

Archytas had not failed him.

In the summer of 360 Plato sailed back to Athens again, and breathed a sigh of relief as he walked into the Academy's peaceful groves. To clasp Dion's hand, he had sacrificed his opportunity to build an ideal city-state.

On his part, Dion was completely aroused against Dionysius, who had persisted in playing the tyrant. Stirring up his Academy friends in the name of Hellenic Law, Dion embarked for Sicily, determined to overthrow the tyrant of Syracuse.

The fatherly Plato, with heavy heart, corresponded with both his young friends.

Four years later, on receiving word that Dion had been assassinated, he broke down and wept: for at one blow he had lost a dear friend and the hope of a good state.

Nevertheless, he kept up his courage, and set about creating other Dions in Athens: henceforth the Academy would be known as a school for statesmen. Already friends had spread abroad his political ideas, and cities began turning to the Academy for technical advice in drawing up new codes of laws. If Hellenic freedom was to maintain itself against imperial Persia to the east and mercenary Carthage to the west, a new type of Hellenic city-state must arise more stable than Athens, Sparta, or Thebes. To the construction of such a state he devoted himself in his long dialogue named the *Laws* ... which formulates a constitutional democracy centering in comprehensive public education.

In 347, when eighty years old, Plato died at a wedding feast. He himself never had wed. Whether he ever loved women we do not know; but he loved men nobly, and most of all he loved intellectual Beauty. He precreated no mortal children, but immortal books are his progeny. As a Greek, as an Athenian, as a thinker of noble traditions, Plato was ever the artist: whether leading a chorus, wrestling in the Isthmian games, writing poetry, fighting Spartans, composing dialogues teaching a class, or helping to establish a state, he followed the light of knowledge, and worked with a zeal for perfection.

10. Although the writing of the *Laws* was still "in the wax" at Plato's death, the *Epinomis* was probably written later, and the *Critias* is unfinished.

AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTION IN MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS *

PROFESSOR H. C. MOOREHEAD, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

II.

ACCORDING to the Budget Estimate for 1937-38, the demand under the head Agriculture is approximately less than one-hundredth part of the total provincial expenditure. The amount demanded for agriculture is Rs. 11.74 lakhs. Out of this, Rs. 1.08 lakhs, which is approximately one-tenth of the expenditure on Agriculture, has been proposed to be spent on agricultural education and research. According to the last Census Report on our province, agriculture is directly supporting 73.5 per cent. of the total population. If those supported indirectly by agriculture are taken into account, it is not improbable that directly and indirectly fully 90 per cent. of the total population are depending on agriculture for their livelihood. Comment under these circumstances seems uncalled for.

It is instructive to compare the above figures with what we find in some of the Western countries. It would be easy to multiply such instances but a few only are selected at random. Writing in 1929 Prof. Sandiford, Associate Professor of Education, University of Toronto, Canada, observed:

"A new course of study is needed for rural schools. At present the rural children are fed on the same intellectual fare as urban children. Rural environment is different from city environment; the prospective careers of rural children are different from those of urban children. While the fundamentals of culture remain the same for both, there is plenty of room for differentiation in subject-matter and methods of teaching. At present the rural school trains away from the farm, and is one of the chief agencies of rural depopulation. If the rural school programme were given a new content, and more important still, were taught by people with greater sympathy towards rural life, a wonderful good would be accomplished."

This is noteworthy when we remember that Canada, like India, is a country which depends preponderatingly on agriculture for the

* (Continued from the previous number.)

livelihood of the majority of its people. Instead of folding the hands and sitting down in despair, the people assessed their shortcomings and tried to remedy them by a widely extended system of agricultural instruction. Starting from 1914, the sum of \$ 1,000,000 was spent every year for fifteen years on agricultural education only. This was followed by an expenditure of \$ 7,50,000 per year on agricultural education for a further period of fifteen years. Those who are interested in the steps taken to improve and popularise agricultural education and the wonderful results achieved in the last twenty years, may turn to the standard works which are too well-known to require mention. But a useful summary is available in pages 417 to 424 of Prof. Sandiford's "Comparative Education" published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. The one fact which stands out prominently is that for all practical purposes, tuition is free while the boarding expenses are charged at actual cost and occasionally below cost. In fact, every possible inducement is held out to students of agriculture to encourage them in their studies.

Conditions are almost similar in France where the expenses for undergoing instruction in agriculture is not more than £40—a term at the most. This compares very favourably with the expenses which have to be incurred for education in other subjects. Similarly in England, the expenses for tuition and board in Farm Institutes is, according to Lord Eustace Percy, about £1 a week for the sons and daughters of residents in the county and about twice as much when the parents reside outside the area served by the institute. In Northern Ireland, Government maintains a peripatetic staff which brings agricultural instruction to the very doors of the rural population, tuition being absolutely free.

Denmark is probably the most outstanding instance of a country achieving national welfare under exceptionally difficult circumstances by integrating it with the special type of education which was calculated to meet its special requirements. The gifts of Nature to Denmark are very meagre. She suffered a serious set back during the Great War. Yet such has been the good work done by her schools, that she is now producing and exporting such immense amounts of agricultural produce that she is a power to be reckoned with in her own special field. Without entering into details, it may be said without the slightest fear of exaggeration that Denmark has solved the problem of co-operative enterprise in agriculture and its subsidiary

occupations, has reclaimed hundreds of miles of sand dunes, stopped the rush to towns of her children and has built up a new and satisfactory type of rural social life. Recognising that her principal occupation must be farming, Denmark has provided for her rural population free elementary schools in which, as well as in higher schools, part of the time is spent inside the class room and part in practical work on land till all that is essential for successful farming has been mastered. There is a network of small agricultural schools covering the whole of this small country offering courses both general and special lasting from a fortnight to two years. Instruction on every aspect of agriculture and its subsidiary occupations is imparted in these institutions. They are so numerous that a majority of students can attend them from their own houses. Tuition in practically all these institutions is free. Where fees are charged, they are so low as to be within the means of any ordinary householder.

With these examples of systems of agricultural education which have proved their worth, it is only wise that we too, as far as lies in our power, should endeavour to make suitable arrangements to impart agricultural education of the type we need for our youths. We shall have to be patient and to use propaganda in order to convince them that the pursuit of agriculture is a profitable and an honourable profession. There is little doubt that this can be done though some time must pass before any measurable amount of success can be looked for and for this purpose whatever money is necessary must be found. At first there is not much doubt that these schools will not be patronised largely. It is even possible that the ignorant agriculturists will, in the beginning, regard them with a certain amount of suspicion as a device on the part of the educated *bhadralok*, or even Government in the administration of which *bhadralok* have a powerful voice, to discourage competition for profitable sedentary work by limiting the scope of education for their children. But sooner or later, their value will be apparent. It will require both tact and courage to carry the policy to a successful issue. As stated already, all these schools have small farms of a manageable size attached to them. Proper emphasis must be laid on the practical side of farming. In fact, the possibilities of such schools for helping in the development of agriculture are so wide as to be almost bewildering.

If the progress of the rural areas is conditioned by the guidance afforded by an indigenous agency, we have to condemn the present educational system which takes our young people away to towns in order to receive a purely literary type of education the consequence of which is further congestion of High English schools and colleges and the resultant loss of their service to the countryside. The agricultural classes attached to Middle English and High English schools cannot be regarded as having been successful in keeping the students in the places to which they belong. It is for this reason that the writer has suggested a different policy with reference to the special Middle English schools with Continuation classes. The necessary changes in the curriculum, the alterations in the methods of imparting instruction and the presence of students of purely agricultural stock would tend to make them self-contained institutions with the clearly envisaged aim of training their students for residence and service in the countryside.

Statistics tell us that taking British India as a whole, 65 per cent. of the boys in the higher classes of High English schools cannot sit for, far less get through, the Matriculation Examination until they are aged eighteen years or over. Conditions in Bengal are not radically different from this state of things. It follows thus that a large number of pupils prolong their studies of purely literary subjects and also that by doing so they become unfit for, and indeed quite averse to, practical occupations which in our country consist principally of agriculture. The stiffening of the Matriculation Examination is no solution of this problem for the very good reason that it would merely have the effect of detaining them for a still longer period in the High English schools and of making them still more unfit for a rural life.

In order to attain this object, this type of student has to be persuaded to take to agriculture or industry as the case may be at an age when he has acquired sufficient general education to fit him for the duties of civic life and when this general education would be a satisfactory basis for his vocational training. At the same time, it must be such that he has no opportunity of being so "set" in the literary rut as to feel an insuperable unwillingness to take to agriculture or industry. It is the contention of the writer that these objects could be attained if these Continuation Class Middle English schools are properly organised.

It may be said with justice that the suggestion offered by the writer for the improvement of the Middle English schools with Continuation classes to all practical purposes amounts to changing them into agricultural schools imparting the amount of general education necessary to enable the students to take an active and intelligent interest in civic and political life. A question which naturally rises is that if these are to all intents and purposes to be turned into Primary Agricultural schools of a somewhat special type, what would be the age of the pupils when they leave school after finishing their training and would they then be old and strong enough to be able to do a full man's work in the fields? The full Primary course in Bengal is for five years after which would come four years in these special schools. If a pupil is not detained all through his educational career, he would devote nine years to education. According to the last Quinquennial Education Review, by far the largest number of pupils in the Primary stage are from six to seven years. It thus follows that the age of the student cannot be less than fifteen though probably it is likely to be higher, when he leaves school. The only drawback is that the boys will start their training in agriculture at the comparatively early age of about eleven or twelve. In reply to this, it may be pointed out that according to the Hadow Report, page 56. "the great majority of the courses of advanced instruction are given in Central Schools or classes to which children are transferred, usually about the age of eleven, from neighbouring schools." It has to be remembered in this connection that they teach pre-vocational courses. There is also the fact that the age referred to above will not normally apply to the majority of our rural students, an appreciable percentage among whom suffer "detention."

So far as the objection to changing a "bias" school into a vocational school is concerned, it has to be remembered that from one point of view what the writer has suggested is that a comparatively large proportion of the periods should be devoted to the study of "general" subjects, and that more time and energy of both teachers and pupils should be devoted to agriculture than in the corresponding Middle English and High English schools with agricultural classes attached to them. It is stated by the Hadow Committee (page 113), that circumstances have forced some Central Schools to emphasise the bias to such an extent that "their curricula in the last years of the course often bear a strong resemblance to those of some Junior Technical Schools."

In this province starvation stares us in the face unless we change our agricultural practices. It would take years to change the psychology of our agriculturists. The suggestion of having these special schools is made on the assumption that they will hasten this process. Surely a poor province like ours cannot afford to give a shape to its educational policy which is found difficult of attainment in a country like Great Britain!

The writer is aware that purely vocational schools for teaching agriculture have been condemned by the Royal Agricultural Commission. The objections raised are that they are expensive to maintain, that they lead nowhere and lastly that there is little demand for education of this type. No evidence has been adduced to prove the uselessness of the training imparted, nor has any effort been made to prove that the students by drifting to towns and earning their livelihood in other ways failed to utilise the education they had received. The case against schools of this type would have been proved to the hilt if it could be shown that a large majority of their students betake themselves to urban occupations. Investigation into their careers would probably show that if they are not utilising their training in the cultivation of their own land, a majority of them are occupying positions in which a knowledge of agriculture is useful in the efficient discharge of the duties entrusted to them. As regards the heavy cost of maintenance, it has to be remembered that education of this and other nation-building types can never be self-supporting. In no country in the West has education in agriculture been able to pay its own way.

If, as the Commission says, Indian parents are not willing to meet the full cost of the education imparted in these vocational schools, they are not in any way different from the parents in Western countries including England. If it is impossible to make a purse out of a sow's ear, it is equally impossible to have arrangements for imparting sound agricultural education on a self-supporting basis.

The Royal Agricultural Commission has condemned these agricultural schools in favour of agricultural bias schools of the Punjab type. The two types should not, in the opinion of the writer, try to serve the same purpose. These two systems are complementary. If the value of agricultural education is not fully appreciated by the people of this country, it is all the more reason why they should be made to realise its importance in our economic life. The vast majority are

illiterate, ignorant of the laws of personal and community hygiene, etc. Are we to leave them in their ignorance? If we conceive it to be the duty of Government to enlighten them in these matters, the same line of argument would lead us to make satisfactory arrangements for teaching the agricultural masses how to make the best and most profitable use of the land they cultivate.

If it is argued that this training in agriculture or industry can be given economically in ordinary schools where instruction will be imparted in these subjects as optional subjects as in the agricultural classes attached to Middle English and High English schools to which reference has been made elsewhere, the answer is that the haphazard mixing up of literary and vocational subjects is likely, at least in this country, to predispose the students as well as their guardians to attach an exaggerated value to the former. That this is so has been proved in the case of the "boss" schools referred to just now. When we remember that the facilities for imparting vocational training in these schools can never be satisfactory—for fruitful vocational training always presupposes costly equipments, and an experienced and specially trained costly staff—we are inevitably driven to the conclusion that the unsatisfactory training the pupils are likely to receive in these institutions is likely to tempt them to prolong their studies and to accentuate still further their natural inclination for a purely literary type of education. After considering all these facts, the writer has come to the conclusion that in order that our students might profit by agricultural training, these Middle English schools with Continuation classes will have to be reorganised with the aim of changing them into real and satisfactory centres for the spread of agricultural knowledge and instruction of immediate utility and economic value.

An old and valued friend for whose opinion the writer has great respect feels that one fact which will militate against the success of these special schools organised in the way suggested, is that the learning of English by the students may have the effect of encouraging the more intelligent among the students to join High English schools after finishing their studies in the Continuation classes. He feels that if the aim of these schools is to train intelligent and up-to-date economically successful farmers, there is no need to teach them English. Past experience, he holds, has demonstrated the fact that literary education of the prevailing type has such attractions for young and old that it will be practically impossible to keep the

students permanently in the countryside. It is of course not possible to say what will be the exact effect of this special type of training in this particular direction. The writer, however, feels that there are so many positive advantages in the early acquirement of English, specially for those who desire to prosecute higher studies in agriculture, that it would not be wise to diminish the usefulness of the curriculum by the omission of English. This feeling is responsible for his suggestion that while there will be one and the same agricultural curriculum for all these schools, instruction in English may be imparted in some of them.

The same friend is also of opinion that if the schools are located in highly rural areas and if the students are recruited from the families of poor cultivators as has been suggested by the writer, the chances are that very few of the boys will be permitted to complete their studies. As soon as they reach an age when their services can be utilised in the ordinary work in the fields, the parents will withdraw them from the schools and set them to work on their land. He bases his opinion on the immense "wastage" in primary education with which almost all of us are familiar. This objection, the soundness of which is freely admitted by the writer, may be met in a number of ways. The parents might be asked to make a deposit when the student starts his agricultural training, the whole or a proportion of which would be forfeited if the student is taken away, except for good and sufficient reasons, before the end of the course. If it is argued that our cultivators, overburdened with debt as they are, will be unable to make the deposit, the correctness of which again the writer admits, it may be possible to attract the students to the agricultural classes by the promise of a small bonus, after they have successfully finished their agricultural training. This bonus may at least partly consist of the profits accruing from the successful working of the school farms. This expectation of receiving a bonus is bound to act as a deterrent and the longer the period during which training has been undergone, the stronger will be the effect of this rule in keeping the students in the school.

There is still another inducement which may be held out. Agricultural demonstration and propaganda as conducted now are not satisfactorily organised. The number of officers engaged in this important work is extremely limited. Their number will have to be increased materially in the near future. This may be expected

under present circumstances when power has come to the people through their representatives. It only remains for the minister in charge to carry this measure to a successful issue. With the increase in the number of demonstrators who, in future, should be graduates or licentiates in Agriculture with an intimate knowledge of its practical side,—the writer is here taking for granted the starting of an Agricultural College which is long overdue in this province—there is bound to be a wide demand for properly trained "field men." It would be desirable to utilise the services of some of these students as "field men." Properly organised, the employment of such men in sufficiently large numbers would imply the employment of a smaller number of the more highly paid demonstrators. The fact that these "field men" come from agricultural stock would of itself give them greater influence with the people with whom they would come in contact in the course of their work. Taking into account all these facts, these schools are bound to grow in favour with the more intelligent and enterprising among the peasantry of this province.

The general complaint against the *burga* or the sharing of produce between landlord and tenant is that both parties to the contract feel that they are deprived of their just dues. The middle classes of Bengal, it may be observed safely, hold agricultural land under superior landlords and also that they do not cultivate the land themselves but let it out either to lower middlemen or directly to the cultivators. In the latter case, the rent is paid more often in kind than in cash. The writer knows from his own experience that in East Bengal, the rent paid in kind takes two forms. A fixed amount of produce is regarded as rent which is very hard on the cultivator if the crops fail either on account of insufficient rain or on account of floods. The cultivator has either to remain indebted to his landlord or to take the help of the money-lender in order to pay his rent. The result in both cases is the same. The second method is for the tenant to pay a fixed proportion of the produce; usually the landlord takes 50 per cent. and the tenant 50 per cent. When jute is grown, the landlord gets one-third only on account of the higher cost involved in its cultivation. It is almost the universal practice for the *burgadars* to provide cattle and plough and about 50 per cent. of the seeds which ordinarily, is not departmentally improved seed. The writer had once an opportunity of examining

at close quarters the working of the *barga* system as it obtains in the vicinity of Seri in Birbhum district. The immediate landlord here is an educated Indian Christian young man with progressive ideas. He offered departmental paddy seeds to the cultivators which was refused by them. This gentleman provides all the manure required but his experience so far as the collection of his dues is concerned, is in no way happier than that of his less generous neighbours who do not show any special consideration to the *bargadars*. These *bargadars* who are without capital take loans from their landlord for the purchase of draught cattle, implements and seeds and this for all practical purposes binds them down to the landlords. At most after satisfying the demands of their landlords, they can meet the interest and even that not always. Other *bargadars* who are slightly better off in addition to *barga* land, also cultivate fields to which they have occupancy rights. Under the circumstances what actually happens is that the cultivators devote all their labour and attention to the cultivation of their own holdings, the whole produce from which with the exception of the amount which has to be devoted to the payment of rent, is theirs. At the proper season, all necessary agricultural operations such as ploughing, laddering, transplanting, weeding, etc., are done first on their own land. In fact *barga* land is almost invariably cultivated in a careless and wasteful manner with the consequence that the crops are always poorer in both quality and quantity. The loss to the individual cultivator and his landlord may not be high but the total loss to the national income must necessarily be very high. This is happening to-day because, in the practical world, profits are the only inducement to sustained effort and the *barga* cultivator, rightly or wrongly, feels that he is being exploited by the landlord and does not receive an adequate return for the time, labour and energy spent in *barga* cultivation to which he thinks he is entitled. It is this real or fancied clash of interests which leads to uneconomic methods of cultivation with consequent loss to the national revenue. Both parties would undoubtedly be gainers if the relationship between them could be improved and sweetened.

The *Metayer* system which has achieved wonderful success in Italy and where the relations between landlord and tenant are so cordial is nothing but an improved *barga* system. Its success is due to the acceptance of certain well-understood principles among the

most important of which may be mentioned the equitable adjustment of profit between land, labour and capital, as also non-interference by the contracting parties in the sphere of work assigned to each. The typical landlord operating the *Metayer* system is always well posted about the results of the most recent investigations into agricultural problems. He knows the practical utility of using the best of seeds, the kind and amount of manure required for getting bumper crops, improved implements, etc. The cultivator, on the other hand, is familiar with the best methods of cultivation. This happy combination of theoretical and practical agricultural knowledge is responsible for the success of the *Metayer* system. While the cultivator supplies the labour, the landlord in addition to land, supplies improved seeds, manure in adequate quantities and all agricultural implements. In our country, the landlord's contribution to the production process consists of land only. The writer has not come across many landlords in our province who are willing to supply other and equally necessary adjuncts to cultivation. This is probably because they feel that however large the amount of help they might give to the cultivator, they will not be able to get more than the minimum quantity which will just suffice to keep them contented and to prevent them from getting rid of their tenants. In Italy, the landlord takes a certain percentage of the produce as rent for the use of the land; he also gets another percentage which represents his remuneration for supplying improved seeds, manure and agricultural implements and whatever remains goes to the cultivator.

It is a well-known fact that owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has not corresponded with a fall in the rent charged, agricultural land is changing hands very frequently. Our landlords are finding to their dismay that land for which they have no use is being thrown on their hands. Very few of them have satisfactory arrangements for cultivating all such land by their own agency. The students of these Special Middle English schools after they had acquired sufficient practical experience, could easily utilise this land. Having acquired a certain amount of education, it may be expected that they would realise their responsibilities to their landlords and would not try to deprive them of their dues. At the same time, if they incur expenditure for improving the land they cultivate, they would know how to protect themselves against the rapacity of the less conscientious members of the landlord class. If they adopt

intensive cultivation as agriculturists will have to do in a majority of cases, they would be able to provide work for many landless cultivators who do not find employment all the year round or who are cultivating the land of others under the existing *barga* system. The greatest attraction of this improved system for them will be that they will not feel that they are anyone's servants knowing full well that all the produce except the dues of the landlord for the rent and the charges incidental to the supplying of seeds, manure, etc., is theirs. In this way, a happy and prosperous race of peasant proprietors may gradually be called into existence. For this, it is equally essential that the landlord should content himself with a reasonable profit on the capital invested. Any attempt at rack-renting would be fatal to the success of this experiment and the help of legislation should not be wanting in order to protect the interests of this class of peasantry.

It is hoped that the writer has succeeded in making it clear that in his opinion the object of starting these schools is to train up a new race of intelligent educated farmers who will be the pioneers in a new era of agricultural improvement and progress in our province. If this is our aim and if we admit that our cultivators are too poor as a class to equip their sons trained in this particular way for an agricultural life by providing them for instance with good bullocks, improved implements, good seeds, etc., it follows that in order that these students might do the work, for which they will be trained at some expense to the country, they should be provided with necessary capital for the purpose. Under the Agriculturists' Loans Act, they might, with proper safeguards, be given advances of not more than Rs. 200 for providing themselves with draught cattle etc. They might also, under proper safe-guards, avail themselves of loans under the Land Improvement Loans Act for improving the land they will cultivate. The more enterprising among them might be induced to take up land and settle in the different Colonization areas, a matter which will be treated by the writer later on. These facts, if properly explained to the cultivators, would act as inducements to keep their sons in the schools till the end of the agricultural course.

(Concluded.)

AN EARLY PORTUGUESE ACCOUNT OF BENGAL

PROFESSOR SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt. (OXON).

THE earliest Portuguese account of Bengal is probably to be found in a letter, addressed by Dom João de Leyma, a Portuguese nobleman serving in India,¹ to His Highness the King of Portugal from Cochin on the 22nd December, 1518. Dom João submitted to his sovereign a brief report on the activities of the Portuguese officers in different parts of the east and he refers to Bengal, as that province was, for the first time, visited by an accredited agent of the Portuguese Government in India during the rainy season of that year. The letter has been preserved among the old archives in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon and has not so far attracted much notice.

Dom João de Leyma has something to say about the people of Bengal, their language and economic condition, and his account, though meagre, is not entirely without interest to a modern student of Indian history. The relevant portion runs as follows:

"Dom João,² my Lord, spent the last cold season in Bengalla, where he wintered, being always in desperate war, without concluding any treaty of peace with them. The people, it is said, are perverse and feeble and they hid from him all the goods of the land. We are told that silver, coral and copper are highly prized there but still no one wanted to buy any of these things, the reason my Lord, was that some Gujarat boats were there and they caused all possible hindrance. The country is very rich, ten *fardos* of rice sell for a *pardao* of 320 *reis*, there being three *alqueires* in each *fardo* and the rice is *giracali*; twenty hens and as many as sixty ducks sell for a *tanga* and three cows per *pardao*; shells are the coins of this country, for none but the king can own gold or silver. The people are short and speak almost like those of Goa, this is because the coast of the Bay of Bengal is

¹ Dom João de Lima, served with distinction under Afonso de Albuquerque. In 1518 he was appointed Captain of Calicut. He died in 1570 in the defence of Chaul.

² So far as I am aware, the letter has not yet been published anywhere. Reference to this letter has been made in Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 343-344 but the portion relating to Bengal has been entirely omitted.

³ João de Silveira.

opposite to that of Indis. Bengal lies 20 degrees to the north which is the altitude of Dis. A slave is worth six *tanças* and a young lady double that sum. At the bar of this river, my Lord, there are three fathoms of water at low tide, which swells from there to six fathoms at high tide. The city is said to be two small leagues from the bar. The city is big and populous but very weak. Here was Dom João for five months awaiting the monsoon for returning to India."

It may be mentioned that the Portuguese word "inverno" in the above extract could not possibly mean "winter," for Dom João must have returned to the Malabar coast, the "India" of the contemporary Portuguese records, before the letter was written in December. In the English records of the seventeenth century the term winter is invariably applied to the rainy season when the frail country boats were reluctant to leave the safe shelter of the harbours and brave the dangers of the stormy ocean. Such indeed was the practice of the Portuguese as well. For them Bengala was a different country from India which consisted of the Malabar coast alone, while the subcontinent, we now know as Indis, was wrongly called "Asia." The letter, however, does not mention the name of the city visited by Dom João, nor does it specify the creek or river where he moored his boats. For these information we must turn to a third João, who immortalised the valiant deeds of his countrymen in his monumental *Decadas da Asia*.

João Barros gives in the third *Decada* a detailed description of the expedition to which Dom João de Loyna so briefly alluded. What his sources were we do not know, but much of the contemporary records and narratives have been lost for ever, and Barros is so definite and circumstantial in his account that we cannot highly reject his evidence. In any case he explains satisfactorily the hostile attitude of the Gujrat ships.

According to him, Bengal was visited in 1518 by Dom João de Silveira. He had been sent on a diplomatic mission to the Maldives by Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the fourth head of the Portuguese government in India. In those days Portuguese diplomacy in the eastern waters usually meant a free exhibition of the mailed fist and João de Silveira was an apt pupil of da Gama and Albuquerque. On the high seas he met two ships on their way from Bengal to Gujarat and promptly seized them, though one of the boats belonged to a Muslim merchant, called Gromalle (Golam Ali ?), a relative of the Governor of Chetigao, who himself was interested in the other.

According to Silveira's way of thinking, they formed lawful prize and were forthwith sent to his official superior, Lopo Soares. From the Maldives he proceeded to Colombo of which place he had previously been promised the Governorship. Next he sailed for Bengal with four ships, one of which he commanded in person, while the remaining three had for their Captains Tristão Borbudo, João Fidalgo and João Moreno. Silveira did not know much about the route and needed a pilot. With characteristic recklessness he pressed into his service a pilot from the very ships he had so wantonly captured and appeared in due course at the mouth of the Arakan river. The Portuguese sailors had never before been to these parts and they were well received by the people of Arakan who sought their friendship and amity. But Silveira had on board a Bengalee youth who introduced himself as a brother-in-law of the pilot. This youngman counselled the Portuguese commander not to have anything to do with the Arakanese as there was no good feeling between Arakan and Bengal. Silveira next sailed to Chatigao (Chittagong of the English) where the young muslim who had in the meantime ingratiated himself with Dom João, informed his countrymen about his misdeeds on the high seas. It is no wonder that the merchants of Chatigao refused to have any commercial transactions with the newcomers, who were no better than pirates in their eyes. Their suspicion was further deepened, as another Portuguese, João Coelho, had also arrived at Chatigao. He had been sent on this mission by Fernão Peres d' Andrade, then on a cruise to China. That is why Silveira found the Bengalees so "perverse and fickle," and it was undoubtedly his sentiments that both João de Leyma and João Barros afterwards echoed. In any case Barros is definite that Chittagong was the city that João de Silveira visited in 1518, and the river to which João de Leyma refers must consequently be the Karnaphuli. The town stands on the right bank of the river about twelve miles from the mouth.

It is interesting to note that the early Portuguese visitors should observe the linguistic affinity between the people of Bengal and those of Goa, though their explanation is not worthy of serious consideration. The Saiswat Brahmans of Goa claim to be the descendants of Bengalee immigrants. Like the Bengalees they rub their body and head with oil, and, unlike their neighbours of Maharashtra, freely partake of fish. One of their holy places Chandranath, the mountain abode of Shiva, naturally reminds us of a hill of the same name in the Chitta-

gong district which is still frequented by thousands of Bengalee pilgrims. The most popular dieties are Shanta Durga and Nava, Durga and the original image of Shanta Durga was, according to a popular tradition, transported by thirteen Brahman families from their old home in Trihut to their new settlement on the western coast. The Saraswat, like the Bengalee, is noted for the broad pronunciation of vowels and in stature and look they are so alike, that if the Saraswat doffs his *pagota* (turban) or cap or the Bengalee does it, a stranger will find it extremely difficult to distinguish one from the other. The *Konkani* language or dialect shares many words, expressions and idioms in common with Bengali. The story of Saraswat migration may not, therefore, be entirely unfounded and Dom João de Silveira and his companions were quite right when they observed that the "people of Bengal are short and speak almost like those of Goa."

The Portuguese found Bengal an exceedingly cheap country and the common medium of exchange in the market-place of Chatigao was the shell (evidently the cowrie shell). But it will not be safe to accept all their assertions at their face value, and it is difficult to believe that none but the king owned gold or silver. In their ignorance they thought that the governor of Chittagong was the sovereign ruler of the adjacent districts. The price list given in Dom João de Leyma's letter is, however, likely to prove useful to students of economic history, for very rarely did old travellers deviate from general remarks to detailed information about the current price of common commodities. An *alqueire* is a cubic measure for dry and liquid things, roughly equivalent to two gallons or 600 pounds, which converted into Indian measure will be about seven *maunds* and thirteen *seers*. The exchange value of *pardao* and *tanga* varied from time to time and the purchasing power of a coin, whatever its denomination, has never been constant. The exact value of the *pardao* has not yet been ascertained, but we need not enter into a detailed discussion on that subject here. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a *pardao* was either half a *pagoda* or equal to one *pagoda* or $3\frac{1}{2}$ *Rupees* Sixty *reis* made a *tanga*, therefore, five to six *tangas* made a *pardao*. In modern parlance the price list of João de Leyma will be as follows: 2 *mds.* of good rice for a *Rupee*, twenty hens and sixty ducks for about twelve *annas*, a cow for one *Rupee* and three *annas*, a slave for three *Rupees* and eight *annas* and a young female slave for seven *Rupees*. Apparently Bengal was the paradise of the poor.

The province enjoyed its reputation for plenty throughout the sixteenth century. Ralf Fitch, who visited Bengal seven decades later, found "Satagam very plentiful of all things." According to him, Bengal abounded in "rice wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and many other places."⁴ The French traveller Bernier visited the capital of Bengal about 1665. If popular tradition is to be credited, rice was much cheaper then and sold at the rate of six maunds per *Rupie*. The French traveller observed that food stuffs were in general very cheap. He writes "the three or four sorts of vegetables which together with rice and butter (probably ghee), form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single *roupie* twenty or more good fowls may be bought. Geese and ducks are proportionately cheap. There are also goats and sheep in abundance; and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the *Portuguese*, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork. In a word, *Bengale* abounds with every necessary of life."

If twenty or more good fowls could be had for a *Rupie* and rice and vegetables for the merest trifle, when Bernier wrote, it may be fairly inferred that the price level of 1518 was maintained at least for some of the foodstuffs till the middle of the next century. But neither the Portuguese sailor nor the French traveller enlightens us about the quantity of the staple food available per capita of the population of Bengal during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. But we must not grumble. When our sources are so scanty every scrap of information is thrice welcome.

⁴ Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 26-28.

⁵ Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Oxford Edition), pp. 436-437.

THE NEW WARFARE OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION

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New York.

IT is common to speak of the conflict between science and religion—or, as Dr. Andrew D. White described it, "the warfare of science with theology"—it is common, I say, to speak of this as definitely over. It was a terrific struggle while it lasted, and it shook the nineteenth century, during which it raged most fiercely, like an earthquake. What actually happened is of course familiar, and yet not always clearly understood.

On the surface, at least, the conflict between the church and the new science of modern times seemed to concern itself with the problem of the physical world, the cosmos—its origin, its history and the place of man therein. Christianity had emerged from the Middle Ages with a fixed body of ideas, largely theological in character, which had also much to do with natural phenomena. The church, in other words, had a science of its own to explain the myriad facts of life. Then came what we know as modern science in head-on collision with the teachings of the church. The Ptolemaic theory of the universe, for example, backed by a thousand years of metaphysical and theological speculation, was destroyed and swept away by that great group of astronomers, headed by Copernicus and Galileo, who observed and disclosed the new system of relationships between the stars and the encompassing heavens. There is the doctrine of the arbitrary creation of the world and all that therein is, as laid down in the opening chapters of *Genesis*, which was so dramatically displaced by Charles Darwin and the biologists in their discovery and demonstration of evolution as the basic process of "the origin of species." Then there is the story of modern medicine, with its substitution of scientific causes and cures of disease for the demonology and faith-healing of the churches. At the present moment we see the entrance of science into the field of the soul in the amazing developments of what we know as psychology. In one way or another, the whole body of ideas for centuries associated with religion has been swept away, to such an extent

that we wonder if religion itself is not destined in the end to be destroyed.

But this statement of the case is superficial. The conflict of ideas is on the surface. Deep down in the struggle between science and religion is a basic question of method. How do we find out what is true? How do we know reality? How do we verify and establish knowledge?

The answer to these questions leads us straight to that extraordinary change in the whole pattern of human thinking which has taken place in modern times. All through the Middle Ages men had the intellectual habit of postulating certain abstract ideas about the universe, affirming these abstractions as hypotheses of all thought, and then forcing the facts of life to fit these ideas. The thought process was a kind of Procrustes's bed which reality was twisted and tortured into fitting. In theology this doctrine appeared in that concept of revelation which is central to the tradition of historic religion as it has endured to our time. Religious ideas have been deemed to be true because they were handed down out of heaven, like "the holy city, New Jerusalem," straight from the mind of God. In modern times, however, there has come a new method of truth. The whole process of thought has been reversed. The deductive or theological method has yielded to the inductive or scientific method, already known to the Greeks but lost by their successors, which bases all thought not upon dogmatic, absolutist, preconceived hypotheses, but rather upon exact observation and experience in the present world. To-day we gather and examine facts, and then infer from these facts such ideas about the universe and all mysteries of ultimate being as the facts themselves may seem to warrant. Our formulation of thought, in other words, moves from the known to the unknown, instead of from the unknown to the known. Our method of deduction from preconceived absolutes has given way to the method of induction from observed phenomena. The bed of Procrustes is made to fit the occupant instead of the occupant the bed!

What this means to religion is a complete transformation alike of method and insight. Nothing now in religion can be regarded as true which has not stood the test of rational inquiry, by which we mean observation, experimentation, and research. Truth, as now conceived, is derived not from the mind of God but from the reason of man. Truth, in other words, is not revealed to man, but is found by man in

the process of his exploration into reality. Knowledge therefore consists not of doctrines transmitted by the scribes and taught by the priests, but of facts laid hold upon by research workers and by them proved to be sound. The reasoning processes of men's minds, as trained and disciplined during the last three hundred years into what we know as the scientific method, this is for us to-day the open road to truth. That it challenges the whole theological method, from Paul through Augustine to John Calvin, does not disturb us in the least. For we believe to-day what the great William Ellery Channing dared to say a century ago, "Our ultimate reliance is and must be on our own reason. Faith in this power lies at the foundation of all other faith."* If, after a deliberate and impartial use of our best faculties, a professed revelation seems to us plainly to disagree with itself or to clash with great principles which we cannot question, we ought not to hesitate to withhold from it our belief. I am surer that my rational nature is from God than that any book is an expression of his will."

An understanding of this point of view, that the conflict between science and religion was a matter fundamentally of methods and not of ideas, sheds a new and revealing light upon all that has been happening in the religious world since the dawn of contemporary science. A fixed body of ideas, developed in a benighted age by a false method of theological speculation, was shown in our enlightened age to be untrue through the rigorous application of the one sound method of inquiry ever developed by man for the winning of knowledge. The church, sustained by its unshaken belief in revelation, and itself unfamiliar with and therefore hostile to the scientific method, was loathe to surrender its doctrines, loathe above all else to surrender its conviction that God had spoken infallibly and for all time his truth to men. The very fact that the researches of science, under the new inductive method of scientific inquiry, seemed so completely to shatter the great body of divine truth, only served to increase the hostility of the church which believed that the spiritual salvation of mankind was dependent upon the maintenance of that truth. If God's revelation was proved to be false, if as a matter of fact there had never been any revelation at all, what was there left of the great system of redemption, and what could the church do but deny the very religion which was its light and life? But truth is merciless; the progress of science, under the guidance of reason, was irresistible. "Science," writes Bertrand Russell, referring to the centuries of conflict with religion,

"has invariably proved victorious." With the result that all intelligent and educated men to-day look to science for the data of knowledge. If ever we are to know the truth, including the truth about religion, it must be through the utilization of the modern scientific method of finding truth.

It was the triumph of this method that apparently ended the long warfare between science and religion. For religion, as we have said, was beaten on every battle-front. One after another its basic theological ideas and cosmic speculations were swept away by the terrific bombardment of science's factual material. The very foundation of its spiritual authority, the concept of divine revelation—its very mission in the world, to bring the meaning of this revelation to mankind—had been blown to atoms by science's overwhelming demonstration that man is thrown back upon his own resources for the discovery of truth. But now that the smoke of battle has drifted away, and the battle itself is done, it is discovered that religion, as the "center and soul" of man's experience upon this earth, has not been destroyed, nor even seriously mauled. On the contrary, religion stands indebted to science for being relieved of a vast store of theological impediments, accumulated from the Dark and Middle Ages, which would inevitably in the end have crushed and destroyed it in this modern age. What religion was enabled to do, through the work of science, was to discover the nature of its own essential life, which had nothing to do with the factual data of the physical world, and thus to readjust itself to its own concern, which is spiritual reality. To day, as the direct result of the scientific era, there is a religion of the modern mind which lives as happily and fruitfully in the world of contemporary knowledge as in the Middle Ages it lived in the world of the knowledge of that era. The time has passed by when religion will ever again assume that there is a fixed body of ideas, and that these ideas, which have to do with the origin of the universe and the history of man, have been imparted from on high and are to be believed forever as a condition of salvation. Science exists and functions to-day in its own right as the organized quest of truth. As it moves on, like an explorer penetrating deeper and ever deeper into an undiscovered country, it uncovers new and strange disclosures of reality. Religion no longer fights science in the field of knowledge, but marches with it, to learn ever more and more of the profound mystery of life and to understand its meaning in terms

ultimate and fundamental. And the wonderful thing is that, as science and religion thus join hands, so to speak, in an equal desire to know the nature of the world and the destiny of man, science tends irresistibly to confirm and establish the basic postulates of faith which have been religion's sure possession since the beginning of the world.

There was a time, not so long ago, when science was "cocky" and arrogant in its confidence that it was swiftly approaching the outermost bounds of the cosmos, and thus laying bare the realities of a realm which contained no evidence of things spiritual. It was like the eighteenth century astronomer who said that he had searched the heavens with his telescope to their farthest limits, and nowhere had seen God. But in recent years science has suddenly become very humble, and also a good deal confused. For the more it learns about the universe, the less it seems to know. All bounds of reality have long since been pushed into infinity, and every discovery of new truth seems only to open up new regions of unfathomable being. Science stands to-day not so much triumphant upon a mountain-peak, whence it can see all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, as dazed and dumb before black pits of mystery, into which no light can seem to penetrate save that of religion itself. Which brings to us one more evidence of "the whirligig of time!" Whereas the warfare between science and religion had seemed to end in the annihilation of religion, it is now seen rather to end in the reaffirmation of religion. It is something of this sort which Dr. White must have had in his mind when he insisted, in his characterization of this period of conflict, upon substituting the word "theology" for the word "religion." It was a theology which was swept away in the grim struggle of the nineteenth century, but religion endured, and with the aid of science, now lives again, with a new theology to match the new knowledge of our time. It is this enormously impressive fact which Bertrand Russell has in mind, in his recent book, *Religion and Science*, when, after recording the victory of science on every field of religious, or rather of theological conflict, he declares that, nevertheless, "so long as religion is content to avoid assertions which science can disprove, it may survive undisturbed in the most scientific age."

Yet there remains a conflict between these two great interests of the human mind! Or shall I rather say that, with the passing of one conflict between science and religion, there has come a second

conflict more formidable and serious than the first? Indeed, it is not too much to assert that we are entering at this moment upon a new warfare between science and religion which is destined to shake the twentieth century even more terribly than the nineteenth century was shaken by the earlier struggle.

We may best get at the meaning of this new conflict by reminding ourselves that there are two aspects of the work of science in our time. On the one hand, there is the exploratory and speculative function of science in finding truth, which we call pure science; on the other hand, there is the practical function of science in handling and using truth, which we call applied science. A scientist's first duty is to discover the facts. His second duty, as he sees it, is to utilize these facts for the reforming, reorganizing, and rebuilding of human life. Mere knowledge is not enough. This knowledge must be made useful to the needs of men. Pure science must become applied science. Mankind, in other words, must not only know, but must use what it knows in order to create—create anything from a toy-gadget to new vehicles of transportation through the skies. Contemporary science is supremely confident that it can do this thing. It has faith that, through knowledge and its application, all problems may be solved and all desires satisfied. And who can doubt, as he looks upon the telegraph and the telephones, the radio and the movie, power machinery and chemical compounds—a world transformed in a hundred years, so that there is more difference between our lives and the lives of our grand-parents than there was between the lives of those parents and the lives of the Romans in the days of Caesar—who can doubt, I say, that this faith of modern science is a faith justified by works?

The perfect evidence of science's claim to practical and beneficent achievement is found in the field of medicine. To realize what science has done to conquer disease, alleviate pain, prolong the span of eased existence, is to stand dumb with amazement and touched with gratitude. To remember three immortal names of the last century—Pasteur, who discovered the causes of disease, Lister, who laid the foundations of modern surgery, and Morton, who discovered and developed anaesthesia—is to believe that in medicine all things are possible. In my lifetime, a little more than a half-century, I have seen such dreadful diseases as small-pox, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, yellow fever, cholera, diphtheria, tetanus, Bright's disease, either

conquered or controlled. We know to-day the secret of syphilis, and wait only for an enlightened public opinion to destroy it. Cancer is under scrutiny in a hundred laboratories, and some day is sure to be tracked down. What wonder that men talk of eliminating old age, and even of challenging the eternal reign of death!

It is doubtful if there is anything more wonderful in all the history of mankind than the triumphs of applied science in our contemporary world. Yet at this very moment, when applied science is standing at the apogee of his prestige and pride—when, in contrast to pure science, which is confused with mystery, applied science is clear-visioned and confident with achievement—there seems to be something wrong. The use of knowledge for the development of power, and the application of this power to the service of human needs, is suddenly falling into disrepute. There are multiplying signs that this secondary aspect of science is no longer enjoying that universal and unchallenged authority which it enjoyed a generation ago.

Reasons for this decline in the prestige of applied science are many. One is central to all the rest—namely, the growing realization, first felt in surprise and now in horror, that science can be used, and is being used, quite as much for purposes of evil as of good. In the early days of applied science, it was taken for granted that science was here to conserve life, to protect it, to improve it, to uplift it. But now we are not so sure! There is evidence that this science is not only an angel to save, but quite as much a demon to destroy. It is not only a friend of the race, but also an enemy. Every day it is easing human life, and extending its powers, and prolonging its span. But also, every day, science is complicating human life, restricting its powers, undermining its safety, and accomplishing its death. Yesterday we felt sure that science was going to save the world; to-day we are beginning to fear that it may destroy it.

If medicine is the supreme illustration of the blessedness of science, war is the supreme illustration of its bane. Ironically enough, these two aspects of science stand face to face on every battlefield—the soldier to kill, and the physician to heal. And both are armed, the one for death and the other for life, with weapons that science has placed within their hands. Is there any more ghastly spectacle to-day than the preparations of the nations for the next war—their armies, their navies, their fleets in the air, all for the deliberate destruction of the human race? Yes, there is one more

ghastly thing, and this is the fact that, in every nation, there are trained scientists working day and night to invent and perfect weapons more destructive than any that have yet been known! These machine-guns, submarines, bombing-planes, poisonous gases, chemical distillations of agony and death—where do they come from? From engineers and physicists and chemists, working in Government laboratories in every country on the globe, to find new ways of destroying men by wholesale. To the savage ingenuity of these scientists there seems to be no limit. Thus, at the very moment when millions of dollars are being expended to conquer disease, other millions are being expended to fashion fiendish devices for scattering disease germs broadcast among mankind in one universal pestilence. Do we wonder that our age is beginning to doubt as to whether science is the final blessing or the final damnation of mankind?

If we face this dreadful fact of the betrayal of science to the work of death, we can see, without much difficulty, what is the matter. Science is wonderful, but also terrible—and terrible for the reason that it has no values. Whatever values it recognizes come from other sources. Thus, if it heals disease, it is because religion has declared that this is good. If it devises instruments of destruction for use in war, it is because patriotism has taught that this is good. Science itself is neutral. As anything is true that it can know, so anything is good that it can do. Its only interest is the twin concern of knowledge and power. Apart from these it has no values, recognizes no meanings, conforms to no standards, bows to no ideals. Science is like the fable monster of the Middle Ages, the Golem, fashioned by the great artificer of Prague out of steel and fire, which had limitless strength, but no conscience, no pity, no love, and therefore wrought evil as indifferently as good. Science still remains one of the supreme achievements of the race. It must be preserved, revered, developed, and above all things used for the good that it can do. But if it is not to destroy us, it must be controlled and directed by some influence, wholly beneficent, which is greater than itself.

It is this challenge which precipitates the new warfare between science and religion. And be it noted that the latter party to this contemporary conflict is no passing theology of a day and age. It is religion itself which is this time involved—religion as the oldest and deepest fact in the experience of man upon this planet. Distinctive

of religion has always been the creation and presentation of those values the absence of which is so fatal to the pragmatic power of natural science. In all ages and among all people, standards of right and wrong, principles of good and ill, concepts of light and darkness, have been rooted in religion. From the beginning, amid all its confusions of myth and magic, there has been a fundamental ethical content in its work. This does not mean that religion has itself done no evil. It is among the overwhelmingly tragic facts of history that the record of religion includes some of the most monstrous cruelties and hideous oppressions that man has ever known. But it is by its own standard that religion in such case has been corrected, and by its own prophets restored. High above the aberrations and superstitions of faith has been the clear and constant consciousness of a law—an inner voice of the spirit, or an outer order of the cosmos—which is to be held supreme over all governments, all schools, all churches, all canons and conventions of social judgment. This law has all too often been misinterpreted and misused. But slowly through the ages there has emerged, as a kind of pure distillation of experience, a concept of the right, an idea of the sacred and the true, which constitute the values by which men live. These values are the work of religion. Codified and glorified in the Laws of Manu, the Wisdom of Confucius, the Noble Eight-Fold Path of Buddha, the Ten Commandments of Moses, the Beatitudes of Jesus, and that Golden Rule which, in one form or another, has appeared as the ethical ideal of every civilization of mankind, they endure as at once the basis and the impulse of human action. It is by these that religion must be judged, and in the application of knowledge made supreme.

This means a conflict with science, in the field of its practical functioning, which must be carried on relentlessly to victory. In the old conflict, religion, or rather theology, was subdued to science in the highly-controverted field of knowledge. Whatever recovery religion is to make here in our time must be under the leadership of science and in strict obedience to its methods of finding and knowing truth. In this new conflict between science and religion, it is science which must be subdued to religion in the tangled and tortured field of practical life. Whatever progress science is to make in our time must be under the discipline of religion and in stern conformity with its standards of value and ideal. Too long has science moved with utter irresponsibility in its applications of the vast knowledge which its researchers have

opened to the world. Too many are the scientists of our day who serve us medicine-men to anoint with ever deadlier poison the weapons used by savage chieftains in the bloody business of battle and slaughter. If we blame priests and ministers for blessing the arms of their respective nations in time of war, what are we to think and say about chemists and physicists and biologists and engineers who actually provide these arms for the combatants? It is at least to be said of the church, as I have pointed out, that it has itself offered the corrective of its sin—that always it has raised up prophets and martyrs to reaffirm the ideals of the spirit thus betrayed. But I have yet to hear of any scientific society which has repudiated its members who have done the villainy of governments in war time, or of any scientists who have themselves refused to prostitute their will and work to war, and have thus joined the "conscientious objectors" of religion.

Mr. H. G. Wells, in his recent book, entitled *Star Begotten*, imagines a time not distant in the future when scientists and engineers will suddenly ponder the problem of their responsibility for war and its horrors, and at last refuse to go on with their work. He pictures an aviator in a bomber suddenly saying to himself, "Why in the name of blood and brains am I doing this cruel and idiotic task? Why don't I go off home and drop this on these solemn homicides at G. H. Q.?" And then, without further hesitation, acting the action to the thought! He imagines a skilled worker doing some delicate piece of work upon a big gun, and thinking that "it will be better for the world if that gun does not shoot," and then fixing the gun so that it will not shoot. He conceives a great chemist manufacturing explosives, and at last refusing to go on with his labors. These men will be Mr. Wells's new "Martians," as he calls them—human beings "star-begotten" of some heavenly beings whose spirits have moved far beyond the senseless havoc and slaughter of our lives upon this planet. But this, of course, is only a Wellsian fantasy. What Mr. Wells really means, in terms translated into our naive vernacular, are men in whom the religious spirit finally becomes dominant over the scientific interest. These men will resolve the conflict between science and religion in favor of religion, and therefore save our world from death.

It is in some such victory as this—of the soul over the mind, of spiritual values over material works—that we must find the way of escape from the fatal dilemma which now besets us. What we need

is a re-establishment of the dominance of ideals in the lives of men—and there is no power in the cosmos which can secure this but religion. It is the spirit which at last must reign, and not the body with its lusts, not yet the mind with its ingenuities. This spirit rests in the soul of man, as the soul itself in the God from whom it draws its life as a spring its waters from the central cisterns of the earth. Therefore must we again find God, and to-day, as in the ancient time, put our trust in him. ¹

¹ A Sermon delivered in the Town Hall, New York on October 17, 1937.



INDIAN EXACT SCIENCES IN GROWTH, DECLINE AND REBIRTH*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE expression, "positive sciences," as applied to the present section of the Indian Culture Conference is not happy. For it is reasonable to go to scientific business with the postulate that neither in East nor in West, neither in ancient and medieval times nor in the modern epochs have the sciences and philosophies been anything but positive. Culture as such, oriental and occidental, primitive, undeveloped, semi-developed or hyper-developed, is but another name for the positive sciences of man. In all the diverse sections, therefore, into which the Cultural Conferences may be divided for the purposes of specialized investigations, whether in India, China, Japan, Persia and elsewhere in Asia and Africa or Eur-America there is nothing but positive sciences that comes into question.

Can the archaeology of Mohenjo Daro, for instance, which is interested in the chalcolithic finds, the seals, the *scastika*, the roads, the funeral customs, etc., be less positive than, say, the botany of cotton "285 F" or wheat, "Fusa 12" ? The anthropology of the *mano*, the *ginn* or the *tōfōm*, the psychology of the *Gestalt* (structural whole) or the *impulsion vitale*, the sociology of *Beziehungen* (relations) and *Gebilden* (forms), the economics of Imperial preference, the labour philosophy of social insurance, the demography of *le familie numerosa* (the large family movement), the politics of neo-democracy, all these, again, are indeed to be appraised as positive in the same sense as the mathematics of relativity, the physics of the electron, the chemistry of vitamins and calories, and the biology of race-extinction.

It is eminently questionable if we can employ the category, "positive," along with the category, science, without involving tautology. The subject-matter of every knowledge, every *vidyā*, every *kald*, every science is something perceptible by the senses and is to that extent tangible. Or, it is based *in the last analysis* on the sensate and tangible realities. And, again, every *vidyā*, *śāstra* or

* Presidential Address at the Positive Sciences Session of the Second Indian Cultural Conference, Calcutta, December 7, 1937.

science attempts to establish itself by the methods of observation and exploration, nay, experiment by the senses. Every knowledge is therefore positive in its very origin, nature and content. All the "arts and sciences," all the philosophical disciplines, all the "sciences and letters,"—all the technologies and sciences,—no matter wheresoever developed and howsoever varied be the rubrics under which knowledge may be grouped,—are positive as a matter of course. It is only in case the intellectual operations happen to be marred by the fallacies of logic as known to the man in the street that the question may be different. But anthropologically speaking, it is difficult to agree with Lévy-Brahlé about an alleged "pre-logical" or a-logical condition of culture as developed by normal man. In other words, if we guard ourselves against fallacies, we should be prepared to say that every knowledge acquired by normal man is positive.

One may perhaps make a dichotomy between matter and mind or the world of matter and the world of mind, if one so desires. One is entitled to institute such a distinction for certain purposes of pragmatic importance. In that case perhaps one would like to monopolize the category, "positive," for the intellectual operations of man about matter or the world of matter. Such a position cannot however go without challenge. For, nobody is entitled to ignore the consideration that the mind of man, even if it should happen to be a mere epiphenomenon, is in the main and at bottom no less positive than his alleged material environment.

We cannot seriously fight shy of the question as to how little of the mind, after all, is really non-sensate, non-material, non-positive. Perhaps the thoughts of man relating to the condition after death, the other-world, the hereafter, God and so forth may to a certain extent be conceded as belonging to the realm of the non-objective, non-sensible, extra-mundane, non-positive. And yet, the brain and the nervous system are to be given their dues even in regard to the construction of the ultra-mundane spheres. And to that extent the operations of the human intellect bearing on after-death phenomena and the like have ultimately to be grasped as being fastened to the "brass tags" of positive knowledge. In the operations of the human intellect, be it observed *expansant*, are to be included the "intuitive" processes also.

Thus considered, even the infinite is but an expansion of the finite carried to the n th term, whatever be the value of n

which normal brain chooses to attach to it. There are very few aspects, if any at all, of the human disquisitions about God, the soul, the infinite, the hereafter, the other-world, which can be reasonably described as outside the range of the positive. It is after long and extensive explorations of the tangible, the sensible, the positive that the human intellect takes recourse to the mystical method or the mystical message. And, again, not all intuition, *dhyāna*, *nididhyāsana* or mysticism commences by practicing non-co-operation with experience, reason, objective grasp furnished by the sense-realities. The most mystical of soul-metaphysics is not hundred per cent. non-positive and anti-positive. Positivism rules a great deal of all that is conventionally known as spiritual, mystical, transcendental and so forth.

In other words both in subject-matter and methodology all the mental sciences,—psychology, pedagogics, economics, politics, sociology, aesthetics, religion, metaphysics and what not—are positive, with very slight exceptions, if any. Altogether, it should be entirely un-historical to believe, for instance, with Comte that there can be a pre-positive or a-positive stage of human civilization.

In a strictly scientific "grammar of science" all the *śāstras* of India without exception are then, to be accepted as positive. The *dharma* (law) *śāstras* are positive, the *artha* and *nīti* (economic and political) *śāstras*, as well as *vāstū, evāna* and *śilpa* (arts and crafts) *śāstras* are positive, the *kāma* (sex) and *āyurveda* (medical) *śāstras* are positive, and last but not least, the *mokṣa* (salvation) and the *Upaniśads*, *Vedānta*, *Gītā* are equally positive. It will, besides, have to be conceded on rigidly logical and scientific grounds that even the most metaphysical, subjective, unsecular, mystical and other-worldly *śāstras* of India, say, parts of the *Upaniśads*, *Vedānta*, *Gītā*, etc., have by all means a "positive background," a secular foundation, a worldly and sense-determined basis.

The use of the category, positivism, in the sense of material, rational, worldly, human or secular ideology and achievements can be traced to Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (Paris, 1830). It is curious that this kind of positivism was denied to India by Orientalists of Eur-America and Asia including India for quite a long time. The orthodox tradition of *orientalisme* or *indianisme* was nurtured on the idea that Indian culture is anything but, nay, the very negation of, positivism. From Max Müller's *India What Can It Teach Us?* (London, 1893) to Max Weber's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religions-*

sociologie (Tübingen, 1922) the learned societies of the world were sicklied o'er with this postulate about India being a land of unsecular, non-materialistic and other-worldly attainments. The postulate rules still, for instance, in Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York, 1937).¹ It has been the function of the present writer's *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad, 1914-26) and the *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1923) to combat this orthodox tradition. We do not have to subscribe ourselves as Comtists and accept the evolution of culture-stages as established by the founder and popularizer of positivism as a cult. We have indeed found reasons to object to his fundamental thesis. Nor, on the other hand, do we have to subscribe ourselves as Marxists and go in for the materialistic or positivistic interpretation of history in the monistic and absolutist manner. But archaeologists, anthropologists and historians who deal with the objective data of cultural and social dynamics will have to admit that positivism or the cultivation of secular, materialistic and worldly interests has always been one of the diverse "drives" of human endeavour in India through the ages. The behaviour patterns of the Indian masses and classes cannot be understood for any epoch of their sociology without reference to their positive background and materialistic foundations.

We need not go into the problem of positivism or secularism *vs.* otherworldlyism or mysticism, etc., with special reference to India for the time being. Perhaps what the organizers of the present conference have in view by instituting a special section devoted to the so-called positive sciences of India can be best described by the category, natural sciences, or still better, exact sciences. But from the standpoint of terminology it has to be admitted at once that neither the word, "natural," nor the word, "exact," is free from objections. In any case, these categories might be taken as descriptive of the mathematical, geologico-geographical, physico-chemical and biologicomedical *śāstras* of the world.

The first serious objection is self-evident. To-day there is hardly anybody to contest the fact that the phenomena of the human sciences (*e.g.*, anthropology) are certainly in part at any rate "natural."

¹ B. K. Sarkar : "Hindu Sensationism and Idealism in Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*" (*Calcutta Review*, Sept., 1937).

Equally clear is another objection. The human facts and phenomena are somewhat capable of measurement, mathematical delimitation, quantitative treatment, or, in other words, "exact" (psychology, economics, etc.).

Nearly two decades ago the modern researches into the contributions of ancient and medieval India to the diverse "natural" and "exact" *vidyās* were exhibited by the present writer in a synoptical survey entitled *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (New York and London, 1918). The object was to furnish chronological links and logical affinities between the scientific investigations of the Hindus and those of the Chinese, Greeks and Saracens. It was intended to give an account of the earlier landmarks in mankind's scientific development and a history of rationalism from the Oriental angle.

The entire sciences of arithmetic and algebra (in spite of the Arabic names) in the form in which every school boy and girl have to master them in Europe and America, may be said to have had their origin among the Hindus. The fact of the invention of the decimal system of notation by the Hindus is, indeed, well known to Western scholars. But it is not generally recognized that the Pythagorean theorem had been solved by the Hindu geometers independently of Greek help, that Euler's solution of indeterminate problems of the second degree was given by the Hindus over a thousand years before the attempt in Europe, that the principles of coordinate geometry were roughly formulated in India about eight centuries before Descartes, and that Newton's principles of the differential calculus had been anticipated there in a general manner by five hundred years. In astronomy Hindu investigations explained rotation, eclipses, epicycles, precessions of the equinoxes, etc., and on the whole, did not fall short of Tycho Brahe's work in the sixteenth century.

In physics the Hindus propounded the atomic theory of matter and understood the conservation of energy. They explained the phenomena of evaporation, refraction, and magnetism. They invented also the mariner's compass, and mathematically analyzed the sound in order to calculate musical notes and intervals. Incidentally it is worth while to observe that Hindu music has had the same octave as the Western.

The chemistry of the Hindus was more advanced than that of the Greeks, not more superstitious than that of Roger Bacon, and might compare favourably with the researches of Paracelsus (sixteenth

century). Industrial and medical applications of chemistry made considerable progress. The Hindu metallurgists could forge bars of iron larger than any that have been forged in the West up to a very late date. They manufactured gunpowder, and the Chinese may have learned it from them. The so-called "Damascus blades" were Hindu patents. The Hindu chemists were likewise experts in the preparation of fast dyes, the extraction of the principle of indigotin from indigo, and the tempering of steel.

The materia medica of the Hindus was bolder than that of the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs. Metallic substances, such as mercury, iron, white oxide of arsenic, etc., were used by medical practitioners in India for internal administration, a dangerous practice, according to European scientists even of the sixteenth century. The Hindu surgeons with their 127 instruments, however crude according to the modern standard, could give points to the barber-surgeons of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The human osteology was more exactly known to the Hindu anatomists than to the Europeans until the time of Vesalius (1543). The Hindus explained satisfactorily the physiology of digestion, and guessed to a certain extent the circulation of blood at a time when in Europe, previous to Harvey's discovery (1628), the movement of blood was thought to be a to-and-from movement confined to the veins. The anatomy of the nervous system and the ganglia and plexuses of the cerebrospinal organism were carefully investigated by the researchers. Major operations in obstetric surgery were undertaken by specialists. The problem of the transmission of congenital deformities, sex-determinants, and other embryological questions were discussed by the biologists.

The natural history of minerals was a recognized branch of learning; the testing of metals and precious stones was an advanced art. Descriptive botany, with special reference to pharmacy, descriptive zoology oriented to the needs of farming, toxicology, and the taxonomy of plants and animals, according to external characters, habitats, etc., were precise and helpful to practical men, so far as they went.

A well-documented history of science should bring into bold relief the injustice of the accusation that has been levelled against the Hindu mind that it is unpractical, other-worldly, pessimistic and mystical and hence essentially different from the European and the American. It ought to be clear, on the contrary, that critical inquiry, rationalism, sceptical attitude and positivism have been pronounced features of

Hindu intellectual life. The world of science and culture ought to be convinced, further, that historical evidences prove that the Hindus have co-operated, all through the ages, with the Occidental races in the building up of objective science and industrial art, sometimes as teachers, and at any rate as colleagues.

While talking of the achievements of ancient and medieval India in the exact sciences it would not do, on the strength of positive data available at present, to claim anything extraordinary. In most of the fields the results obtained were very modest. It should be observed at the outset that no less modest were the results of scientific investigators in Europe during the ancient and medieval ages.

The parallelism or identity between India and the Western world in rationalism, scientific investigations and attempts at commanding exact knowledge of the material universe may be seen, in a general manner, in the two following equations :

- (1) India in exact science (c. B.C. 600-1300 A.C.)
 = Europe in exact science (c. B.C. 600-1300 A.C.).
- (2) Renaissance in India (c. 1300-1600)
 = Renaissance in Europe (c. 1300-1600).

The above equations are to be taken with "buts" and "ifs" and are intended to be approximate propositions only.

For the third period we should have something like the following statement :

- India in exact science (c. 1600-1750)
 = Europe in exact science (c. 1300-1600).

In other words, the period which may be generally described as that of the Renaissance in both East and West did not succeed in establishing any marked difference between India and Europe so far as the "materialistic" or exact sciences are concerned. It is during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—the post-Renaissance epoch (Descartes, 1596-1650, Newton, 1642-1672) that Europe commenced distancing India in those fields. By c. 1750 India was where Europe had been about, say, 1600.

During the last two decades the contributions of ancient and medieval India to the natural and exact sciences, for instance, mathematics, botany, etc., have been the subject of some fresh investigations by Indian scholars. The amount and variety of researches into these topics do not appear, however, to be adequate. Considerable attention

deserves still to be bestowed on those creations of the Indian mind. It is, besides, desirable to point out that some of the conclusions of contemporary researches into the old Indian sciences need a thorough revision and revaluation in the light of recent studies by non-Indian scholars in the history of the world's ancient and medieval sciences.

On the present occasion I should like to invite the attention of scholars to certain phases of India's mentality in the eighteenth century bearing on scientific-cum-technological developments.

In the first decade of the eighteenth century a work in Marathi language entitled *Adnōpatra*³ was issued by Ramachandrapant, the *amātya* (minister) of Kolhapur. It is alleged to be the edict issued by his sovereign, Sambhāji II (1713-50). The work passes in Marathi literature as Ramachandrapant's *Rājanīti* (Politics).

Some interesting light is thrown on the position of positivism in India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in certain incidental observations of this Marathi text of political thought. Ramachandrapant is describing the activities and characteristics of the *Topikārs* (hat-wearers), namely, the *Firōgīs* (Portuguese), the *Ingrāj* (the English), the *Valands* (the Dutch), the *Farāsis* (the French) and the *Dingmārs* (the Danes).

Ramachandrapant would restrict the intercourse of the "hat-wearers" to the extent of their coming and going for trade purposes only. He is positively against giving them places to settle. By no means are they to be given factory lands at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea. For they might become dangerous by building forts. The outstanding fact that the strength of the European lies in navy, guns and ammunition is recorded by the author, but simply as a positive reality. He should like by all means to avoid them. "It is enough," we are told, "if they occasionally come and go and do not trouble us; nor need we trouble them."

It is worthwhile to pause a moment here. Ramachandrapant is evidently aware that the "dangerousness" of these *Topikārs* lies in their "strength" in "navy, guns and ammunition." Had he cared to go into details in his treatise he would most probably have admitted that in these "industrial" and "military" techniques, at any rate, the *Topikārs* were relatively stronger than and hence to that extent superior to the Marathas and perhaps other Indians. During the early

³ S. V. Postambekar - *A Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy and Organisation* (Madras, 1929).

years of the eighteenth century, then, the consciousness of *Topikār* superiority in certain items of positivism was not absent among the thinking sections of the Indian people.

But it is worth while, again, to observe that the author of the Marathi *Rājanīti* does not discuss as to how the inferiority of the Marathas and perhaps of other Indians in navy, guns and ammunition might be removed. He has not cared to suggest that the Marathas and the other Indians should attempt mastering the new arts, sciences and industries with which the superiority of the *Topikārs* in navy, guns and ammunition was associated. One might expect Ramachandrapant to declare to his countrymen the need for visiting the lands of the *Topikārs* in quest of the new learning,—the new *vidyās* and *kalās*—in order that the *Brahmāstra* (the divine weapons) of the modern times might be mastered by hook or by crook. The *argumentum ex silentio* does not prove anything definite. But it is necessary to point out that no reference to the necessity of learning or stealing the new arts and sciences, the new tools and appliances, the methods and machines of the new factories is to be found in this work. And naturally, therefore, the importance of studying these industrial inventions and military tactics at first hand by coming into contact with the pioneers in their own workshops at home does not occur to Ramachandrapant. On the contrary, he is satisfied with the naive, puerile, nay, old-womanish methodology of avoiding the *Topikārs* altogether, of neither troubling them nor being troubled by them, *i. e.*, of having no social or cultural intercourse of any sort. This is a capital shortcoming in Ramachandrapant's philosophy or statesmanship.

It is impossible to overlook this fundamental defect in the mentality of Ramachandrapant as perhaps of other Indians of his age. The same shortcoming is to be observed in the character of still greater and more influential and powerful men among his contemporaries and predecessors, for instance, Akbar, Sivaji, and Aurangzeb, men who guided the destinies of the Indian people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In regard to the cultural growth of the world both Hindus and Moslems were equally ignorant and defective in outlook and statesmanship. Both demonstrated the poverty or rather the bankruptcy of their intelligence by remaining blind to the greatest reality of their age, namely, that some of the Western countries had already established their claims to be utilized as the *gurus* of the

Hindu and Moslem scholars, artisans, and soldiers. Indian statesmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must have already felt that in certain branches of material and military life they could not do without the assistance, nay, guidance of the few Westerners who happened to be present in India as travellers or merchants. But none of them appear to have felt that the time had come for them to organize scientific missions to the lands of these men equipped with the new qualifications. The fact that Indian *pandits* and *mollahs* would have to learn at the feet of the European Brahmans and Maulvis beyond the seas in the *chatuspāthis* and *maktabas* of Europe was not realized by the greatest Hindus and Mussalmans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although they were already conscious on account of daily experience that the men beyond the seas had in certain spheres of life already proven their worth in a significant manner.

The Mussalmans were as defective and therefore as guilty in this respect as the Hindus. It should not be reasonable to attribute this defect, guilt or sin to Hindulism as a religion or as a system of caste-riden social groups. The Moslems who observe neither the religious rites of the Hindus nor the *mores* and customs of the Hindu castes do not equally appear to have recognized the utility, nay, the necessity of sending their would-be statesmen and generals to the Western countries for training in the new arts and sciences. The *Meiji* (enlightenment) era that commenced in Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century along with the first objective demonstration of Western superiority ought to have commenced in India in the middle of the seventeenth century, the epoch, say, of Aurangzeb and Sivaji, or perhaps in the middle of the sixteenth century, the age of Akbar and the Vijayanagara Empire.

Had the recognition of the necessity of studying or stealing the new arts and sciences from the countries of the inventors and discoverers of those arts and sciences dawned upon the Hindu Varāhamihira and Mussalman Alberonis of the sixteenth, seventeenth or even the eighteenth century India might have had another history in the nineteenth. The "industrial revolution" which commenced changing the face of Europe between, say, 1750 and 1850, might have made its appearance among the Hindus and Mussalmans also almost simultaneously. The political, social and philosophical aspects of this

technocratic-cum-scientific transformation would then have manifested themselves in the Indian *milieu* nearly during the same decades as in the European. The calamitous chronological distance² that we find between India and the more advanced regions of Eur-America to-day might not at all appear as a fact of history.

India had to wait nearly three quarters of a century to counteract the vicious tendency of Ramachandrapant's ideology. The first Varāhamihira of modern Asia was born in Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), whose creative mind was as receptive as that of the Varāhamihira of old (A. C. 5⁰⁵⁻⁸⁷). It is well known that in his *Behat Samhitā* (II, 14) this Hindu scientist of the sixth century declared the *mlechchha* (onelean) Yavanas (Ionians or Greeks) to be as honourable as Hindu *riias* (sages) because the science of astronomy was firmly established among them. From Rammohun to Jagadīś Chāndra Bose (1858-1937) everybody who is anybody as a creator in Indian culture has been a Varāhamihira in receptiveness and the power of assimilation from foreign creative sources.

The creative minds of modern India have repudiated unconsciously, of course, the cult of Ramachandrapant's *Ādhipatra*. In regard to India's progress all the Varāhamihiras of modern India have boldly gone in for a deliberate and direct discipleship to Eur-America in those *vidyās* and *kāśās* in which these regions of the world happen to be go-ahead. They have made it clear also that it is the natural and exact sciences in which the Westerners are to be honestly accepted as *gurūs* (teachers).

The glorious "ideas of 1905" with which the *swadeshi* movement of young Bengal is associated were likewise conceived, especially in its industrial-technocratic and educational aspects, in the spirit of the Varāhamihira of the sixth century. The pioneering activities of the new Varāhamihiras of the last three generations have already borne conspicuous fruits. The collaboration of the Indian workers in the natural and exact sciences on terms of equality is being sought by their colleagues in the other parts of the world. The publications of Indian mathematicians, physicists, chemists, biologists and medical

² For the "equations" of culture-history and the chronological distances in development between races or regions see the present author's *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 433-36.)

men in the journals of the West have grown to be a feature of international science during the twentieth century. The co-operation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (London) with the Indian Science Congress that is going to take a noteworthy shape at Calcutta in January, 1938, on the occasion of the latter's Silver Jubilee is another index to the re-birth of Indian positive or rather natural and exact sciences and their impact on the world's natural and exact sciences of to-day.

* H. K. Sarkar: *The Future of Young Asia* (Berlin 1935), chapter on "Young India in Exact Science," pp. 386-377 and *Creative India* (Lahore 1937), chapter on "Education and Research in Science," pp. 61-643.



SELF-SUPPORTING EDUCATION FOR THE VILLAGES

J. W. PRYAVEL,

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VERY conspicuous among the things shown in the books, booklets and pamphlets Calcutta University Poverty Problem Study sent out is the splendid solution that progress has given us for the problems of rural education and rural uplift generally in India. It has indeed given us a perfect plan for the villages.

We have made immense advances with labour simplifying methods which make work very easy to learn. We have made as great progress with labour saving methods that make a little work give great results. Owing to our progress well-trained adolescents can often be as good as adults in a well-equipped organisation, and can produce useful things in abundance. We might, therefore, organise village lads from say fifteen to eighteen to work in educational colonies, producing the main necessities of life, and they would easily produce a considerable surplus over their maintenance. This surplus could be used to pay for their education. Soon it could be used for rural uplift generally.

The first thing to understand is about this surplus produced not for sale but for use, and how exactly it would be used.

We will begin with the children: We should organise the village boys and girls as Scouts and Guides, to give all the time their parents could spare them rendering every possible service to the villages, to improve them, also brighten life in them. This might include helping to produce fruits, vegetables, eggs, and even milk from goats, to improve the village dietary, and doing any kind of work their organised labour could do for improvements of roads, irrigation, water supply. Last, but certainly not least in importance, they would organise games, sports and entertainments, the value of which can hardly be over-estimated; for man does not live, and keep healthy, by bread alone, people must be cheered as well as fed. It is *the way* to combat drink.

To ensure efficiency and the co-operation of the elders, these Scouts and Guides would be paid. They would receive some exchange cheques exchangeable for articles useful for their family, produced by

the adolescents in the educational colonies. The pay would, thus, be an advance they would draw on their earnings in the colonies later. They would repay it by supplying the next lot of juniors in their turn. This system of advances would be vital to the plan. The pay would be proportioned to results and would be the means of creating lively interest. Eight annas to a rupee a month would not be despised; soon it might be more. This pay and that of the organiser would depend on the work for the village, as well as the progress of the children. With pay proportioned to results the whole village would be keenly interested in its Scouts and their efficiency, and the plan would be most hopeful for its influences on elders as well as juveniles. There is talent and practical capability in the villages, though frozen by "chill penury," in India as well as in the villages Grey immortalised. The earnings depending on the village and the way the seniors helped the educative employment might do much to thaw the chilly atmosphere. The economic power we have now will allow all these splendid things if only we use it in production-for-use, and we must do it.

With children kept lively and happy, a very few hours in class would produce considerable results. They would be set tasks to learn while watching cattle and doing their routine work, and receive rewards for attainments.

That, thus, is the answer to the first question one asks, how we should ever have the school master, Scout Master, and how they would be kept up to the mark in the sleepy village surroundings. Whilst the pessimist sees in every opportunity a difficulty, the optimist sees in every difficulty an opportunity. Modern methods have no doubt brought us many evils but they have opened up the possibility of bringing out the best that the villages are capable of by giving the right encouragement. It is an old dictum "Money makes the mare go." In this case it would normally be remuneration in products of the colonies, but sufficiently varied to be as good as money. Production for use can provide us with the "sinews of war" to mobilise village talent and arouse hope and interest in the sleepy villages. It is likely, in that way, to do more for sobriety than prohibition.

As far as possible, a man of the village would be chosen as master. It would not matter greatly if he could do no more than juk after the Scouting, and perhaps teach the children to read by one of the new easy literacy methods, helped in that by another villager.

The children would learn other subjects in the educational colonies later on. Other easy systems of teaching could be devised, suitable as the children would go to educational colonies in adolescence to finish their schooling. The really important thing required of the master is that he should be capable of organising good Scout work and good work, sports and healthy recreation and play.

As another help to efficiency, arrangements would be made for the children to go away in rotation for periods in educational colonies. There they would be tested for knowledge and general progress. They would meet children from other villages and compare notes with them. A spirit of inter-village co-operation and of emulation would thus be engendered. In the educational colonies they would learn good methods of cultivation, and be given the opportunity to earn in industries, producing for use.

Finally some children would be systematically trained to help the Scout Master. These lieutenants would be kept in constant touch with the educational colonies, to make them an important factor in setting and maintaining a good pace in the villages.

Thus has progress made it possible for us to have a perfect plan. Perfect results, of course, are not of this world. They would depend on the carrying out, that is to say on the human factor. But we have means now by using which we might make the system perfect, and make it bring out the best people can do, and improve them constantly and do the villages the greatest good in every way.

We need not go into the threadbare discussion of the bad sides of village control. There might be cliques in the villages trying to use the Scouts for their advantage. If it were not checked it would, of course, result in demoralization. But the "educational colony" system would have many ways of checking it.

First, it would be the national educational system, controlled as such. The Scout Master would have to consult authorities in planning the work for his Scouts and making any deviations in the programme. Dissatisfied villagers would have a court of appeal. As a last resort they would be able to remove their children from the village Scouts and instead, send them for part of their time to the educational colony. Facilities might be given for this in order to make this the effective check.

Next how should we organise the educational colonies, which would provide the news of war for the whole scheme?

First, let it be said that the splendid Swiss pioneers, Mr. and Mrs. Kellerballs, have given us a practical example of a colony employing "unemployables," and making them earn a surplus. We can certainly manage to do with good youths what they succeeded in doing with tramps ! But we shall have to organise our colonies in a very different way from theirs.

Let us consider how we might begin at once. A number of people in towns interested in rural uplift, might take youths, and induce other employers of labour of all kinds to take some, on a suitable rotation plan, two to each job, working at it alternately in shifts or alternate days. They would work the other shift or day in the colony. This could be done with many kinds of employment, down to domestic services, and the arrangement of rotation would vary according to the job, and to the distance of the colony from the place of employment. The colonies would probably consist of groups of holdings cultivated by small partnerships, but in scientific co-ordination, the youths helping one another in every practically possible way. They would certainly be able to earn their maintenance in them by a half-day's work under those conditions. At the beginning especially, production might be partly for use and partly for sale. Local circumstances would determine this.

We should have in the towns, colony committees to look after the interests of the peasant youths. Many people with large gardens in or near the towns would allow small groups to form miniature colonies working in their gardens. It would often be entirely advantageous to them to co-operate in that way with the organisation. They would then be responsible, under the committee, for their little group of youths. Next an endeavour would be made to get factory owners to take youths on the rotation plan. It might be for money payment at first.

Pay would be taken charge of by the colony committee and used to repay the education advances. Any balance would be used for their benefit in some way. The object of all this would be to make the colonies good farm-schools in which the youths would earn their living. Then the industrial earnings would be used for their real benefit, instead of their having them to dissipate, and to be taken from them by the various profit-makers in the towns. The principle of half-time work in the factories is essential. People must have part of their time for independent, improving and pleasant work. The education colonies would lead the way in the rotation system, for all to

follow. The greatest of modern industrialists, Mr. Henry Ford, has recognized it as essential. It will change our system from bad to good.

Those are plans for a start. When the plan was fully carried out the youths would work in the factories for better remuneration in cheques exchangeable for products, to be paid to the organisation, and on a much more liberal scale than money payment. One has to understand the economics of the plan, and why remuneration in kind can be very liberal. One has also to understand how the industries could be made to give the liberal remuneration in kind. We shall not discuss uselessly to what extent the educational colonies would develop on the lines of big factories—on the short shift system—and factory colonies, and of groups of small industries in rural districts. The Calcutta University publications deal with many different types of colonies, but two details are very important to understand. The Swiss colony, which is for incompetents, has its own land, its special industries, and is under a manager. Colonies for normal people, however, would be groups of privately-owned industries that, producing what their own workers need, would naturally co-operate. Instead of a manager there would be a co-operative society for exchanges only, each industry being a private concern. As we might explain it, the industries would be grouped so that they would be able to give their people a living by the various exchanges. They would also sell produce to people supporting them, and often probably financing them for their social utility. They would be free to sell as much as they could outside also; the more the better in fact. The colonies would be, in a modernised form, the ancient self-contained village with the shareholders or other supporters added. Then as regards the land, they would need it only for their demonstration, seed, stock and farms, which would be a most important feature. Normally they would obtain their agricultural produce by barter with the surrounding villages, and by being *Sauccars* to them. They would, however, do more than the ordinary *Sauccar*. They would provide some well-organised and well-equipped seasonal help to the cultivators. They would also be able to lend them money (or products of their industries), on the security of their labour or the labour of a member of their family, in one of their industries. Thus the difficulties, spoken of about land and "managers" are imaginary. Calcutta University did not overlook practical details in its enthusiasm for the great educational idea. Those who take the trouble to read the

publications Sir Asutosh Mookerjee gave his sanction to, writing prefaces to some of them, and sending them out widely, will see that he did not do all this without satisfying himself that details have been thought of. I must refer readers to those publications for the details. Above all we must not think of the plan as anyone's "scheme." The surplus earning production-for-use organisation is simply the splendid solution improved methods have given us, and we must hasten to adopt it. Different people will make their different suggestions for details. I have given some as illustrations. Others must study the principle and make their suggestions and go on improving on plans for carrying out this possibility that labour-saving and labour-simplifying methods have opened up for us that are of the greatest hopefulness for India.

It is necessary above to insist that it was not to call attention to any scheme that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee made himself responsible for (over twenty thousand copies of books, booklets and pamphlets having been sent out, quoting his own words "to every university in the Empire and many foreign ones," and broadcast with 2,500 printed circular letters. The resolution printed in the "Proceedings of the Executive Committee of Post Graduate Studies in Arts, 10th of March 1920, No. 29, states the real object of that propaganda. Progress has given us tools with which, if we will only pick them up and use them, we will be able to deal with the whole poverty problem, without waiting for social revolutions. To put the idea again illustratively, we must organize the well-trained adolescents to use the tools that is to say to use our powerful methods not wastefully as commerce does but rationally and economically as the socialist state would. The surplus they would produce would very easily pay, not only for education, but for all useful social services, and soon more even than that. Men like Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Horce Plunkett, Sir Dinsbab Wacha, Charles Gide, T. Carver (of Harvard), Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee responded to the idea, the last named prophesying that Sir Asutosh would be chiefly remembered for his great and generous action to make it known. Now on the initiative of Sir Akbar Hydari, and the energetic support of the head of its co-operative department, India's premier state is following her premier university in calling attention to this economic possibility once more, one may repeat, not to a scheme, but to a possibility we must realize in some way. Research work in connection with it is to be undertaken by the State Co-operation Department, assisted by the State University.

PAST INCARNATIONS

KRISHNA MANGESH TALGARI

" Speak not to me, thou fiend !
For thou breakest more hearts
In the twinkling of an eye
Than doth the God of Death in a day !"

The lover left his beloved with words so bold,
The beloved sitting stubborn and cold.

.....

It was Spring again :
And the lovers met, in vain !

She spoke :

" Hast thou come back to me again ?
Why ! thou wouldst not speak to me in disdain
But what brings thee here now ?
Is it that old, old theme men call Love ?"

Said he :

" Surely it is thy Beauty !
Thy lotus eyes,—thy vermilion lips !
Thy "

But she waved her hands and said :

" Enough, enough of thy flattery !
Thou comest here to revel in this, my physical beauty—
Knowest thou this Body is perishable ?"

These words for him no meaning bore—
'Tis woman's talk, he swore !

..... And he left her.

* * * *

Years rolled on.

* * * *

One Summer day they met again—
 Ah, how miserable she look'd !
 Tho' ever she did in his heart reside—
 But her beauty, alas, had vanish'd !

And implored he to her :

" Sweet, my love, thou lookest sad and withered ;
 But I love thee still and for ever—
 For aren't thou well-versed in the hoary Sciences ?
 Ah, thy knowledge of Philosophy staggers me !"

And once more she waved her hands and said :

" And now thou comest to flatter
 My Intellectual attainments ?
 Know this that the Human Mind
 Is of the most perishable kind !"

Perplexed and broken of heart,

In tears hot he spoke :

" Why should I love thee then, if, indeed, I can't get
 That Happiness in thy Beauty or thy Intellect ?"

But ere his thoughts he expressed full well,
 A mighty Power had seized his Soul,

And strangely, into a death-like trance he fell !
 His beloved herself to him revealed :
 She was none other than the Yogi old
 To whom this man for guidance came
 Some thousands of years ago
 In their previous incarnations !

And in a flash the Supreme Truth on the lover dawns ;
 He is not this Body or this Mind—
 Nor e'en these ever-changing Emotions ;
 For broken has he the bonds of ancient ties !
 Of his Real Self he has become aware—
 That absolute Existence, that Beness indescribable !
 Where Struggle ends, and with it Pain ;
 Where Happiness is desired not, but Externally Is !

ASPECTS OF RECENT ENGLISH FICTION

BY SRI CHANDRA SEN, M.A.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS *

II

THERE are many instances of love being relegated to the background in an estimate of the forces which contribute to the success of marriage. Miss Quested in "A Passage to India" while engaged to be married does not feel convinced that love is necessary to a successful union. She believes that "If love is everything, few marriages would survive the honeymoon."¹ If such scepticism exists it is at least rare to find it in a girl on the eve of her marriage. Such ideas, however, more than reflecting individual opinion, serve to indicate the general feeling on the subject. Another example similarly typifying the attitude to love in its bearing on marriage is to be seen in "The Rainbow", where Ursula refuses to marry Skrebensky in spite of her repeated protestations of love for him and her ready surrender to him. Skrebensky was driven to distraction by her refusal. Later on, however, he consoled himself with his Colonel's daughter—he was in the army—and went off to India to join his service with the newly wedded wife. Ursula's point of view is best stated in her own words: "But I don't care about love. I don't value it. I don't care whether I love or whether I don't, whether I have love or whether I haven't. What is it to me?" Again "Love—love—love—what does it mean—what does it amount to? so much personal gratification. It doesn't lead anywhere."²

But as Ricardo Hugh says,³ "Love alone cannot guarantee a good and happy marriage, happy children, and proper education for them; but neither can it be eliminated from a relationship of the sexes." It is wrong to treat love as if it could be discarded altogether.

* Continued from the last issue.

¹ E. M. Forster—*A Passage to India* (Edward Arnold & Co., 1938), p. 152.

² D. H. Lawrence—*The Rainbow*, p. 438.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 445 (where both the passages occur).

⁴ Ricardo Hugh—*Romantic Marriage* (Book of Marriage, Jonathan Cape, 1927), p. 194.

The extreme views represent only a passing phase which has come as a reaction against the romantic excesses in which it was once the fashion to indulge. The hectic manner and silly exaggerations which marked them are now justly scorned.

In spite of the changing attitude to love in connexion with marriage, the recognition of its necessity is felt to-day as strongly as at the time when the disparaging criticism of love was not made with such unholy glee. There are still many novelists writing in the United Kingdom who have felt that if their pictures of life were to reflect the true conditions in society they could not dispense with love as an important factor in marriage.

Herbert Winterspoon in "Ashenden or the British Agent" chose his wife from an influential and aristocratic family. She was beautiful, accomplished, and was an engaging talker, and Winterspoon saw that in her he would have all that he needed to further his ambitions. He proposed and was accepted by her. Before this, however, an incident had occurred in his life which he was inclined to pass over as unimportant. It was a sudden infatuation he had conceived for Alix who belonged to a troupe of travelling performers and was "common, coarse, and vulgar." After the announcement of the engagement he saw to his dismay how intensely he loved her. The father of his fiancée was taking his daughter with him to South America which he had to visit on some political errand. They would be away for three months. The marriage was to take place on their return. He saw off his fiancée and met the woman he loved in Marseilles and begged her to spend the last days of his freedom with him. Such an arrangement would ruin her prospects in the travelling company and he had, therefore, to agree to go about from place to place, putting up at cheap and ugly hotels. Winterspoon abandoned Alix when the three months were over and returned to the lady, who was a kind of a paragon, to whom he was to be married. Then a summary of later experiences follows: "He was loaded with honours. Oh, he made a success of life and there were hundreds who envied him. It was all ashes. He was bored, bored to distraction, bored by that distinguished, beautiful lady he had married. Sometimes he longed for Alix so fiercely that he felt it would be better to shoot himself than to suffer such anguish."¹ Hence when Winter-

¹ W. Somerset Maugham—*Ashenden or The British Agent*, pp. 202-203. (The Novel Library.)

poon was informed that a friend of his was about to form a mesalliance which might leave him a ruined man through excess of passion for a woman of objectionable associations, his reply was: "I'm not sure if a man isn't wiser to do what he wants very much to do and let the consequences take care of themselves."¹

Pauline in "The Family" would not marry Edward Grice who pleaded that he had waited a long time for her because, as she argued, no one who desperately loved her would be content with merely waiting for her. She told him that she needed someone who loved her desperately and that she cared very little for patience, or affection or even goodness. "I want some thing different—I don't know what; but something that will sweep me off my feet."

So important is the influence of one's social surrounding and the level of manners, speech, and upbringing to which one is accustomed that a change in these directions would often act as a strong deterrent to the success of wedded life.² It is on account of this that Have-lock Ellis observes: "Lady Chatterley can never be the happy wife of his peasant lover."³ Philip in "Of Human Bondage" does not lose sight of this fact, and though infatuated by Mildred he is still sufficient master of himself to take stock of the situation in a practical spirit. He had thought of marriage with Mildred more than once—he was no butterfly by nature but he could not feel confident at the idea of being mated for life with a waitress. She would be a great drag on him, and his middle-class social consciousness revolted against the step. He found it altogether dreadful to enter into such an alliance with a waitress.⁴

When, however, his good sense deserted him and he offered to marry the waitress, it was good luck that came to his aid, and he escaped being saddled with a woman who would have made every moment of his life miserable. Finally he decided to marry Sally, a

¹ *Ibid.* p. 184.

² Eleanor Merdant—"The Family," p. 333. Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1915.

³ In the "Eldst Son" by Galsworthy, Lady Cheshire warns her son Bill against marrying a servant maid which he prepares to do from a keen sense of justice. Her point of view is that of conventional society where the aristocracy is regarded as a class apart, and its distance from the ordinary man vastly less than that between the Brahmin and the pariah. "All such marriages and its wretchedness. You haven't a taste or tradition in common. You don't know what matrimony is. Day after day, year after year, it's no use being sentimental—for people brought up as we are, to have different manners is worse than to have different souls." (*The Plays of John Galsworthy*, Duckworth, p. 181.)

⁴ Have-lock Ellis—"Psychology of Sex" (1923), p. 277.

⁵ Somerset Maugham—"Of Human Bondage" (The Modern Library, 1930), p. 374.

healthy active girl whose self-possession and quiet friendly manner had for a long time secured his admiration.

In "Imperial Palace" the Managing-Director of the Hotel had a violent affair with Gracie Savott who possessed great wealth and whose stunt in racing cars had made her reputation eclipse even that of her father Sir Henry Savott, Baronet, a well-known financier. Evelyn, the Managing-Director, was worth a great deal in money although not half as rich as Gracie, and he thought that he was going to marry her whose passionate attachment to himself seemed to augur a prosperous marriage. But that was not the idea he held when he had more opportunities of observing the young aristocratic lady to whose warmth of feeling he had responded with such genuine ardour. Instead of marrying Gracie, he married Violet, the head house-keeper at the Imperial Palace. His brief affair with Gracie had, however, taught him one thing: "namely, that Gracie was not his sort. Yes, Violet was indeed his sort, and as his mind flitted back over the history of their relations, he saw mystically that from the first he had been destined for her, and she for him".¹

In a story by Alec Waugh the failure to estimate the importance of the social background is shown as the cause of ruin and tragedy in the life of a young man who possessed all the necessary concomitants of wealth and influence for worldly success. Chris in the story fell in love with Annette who was Secretary to the Manager of a firm of Charter Accounts. Annette who was endowed with considerable physical beauty was a contriving woman and hurried him into a marriage which brought shame and ruin upon him. In a few years the physical charms of Annette appeared to him to be no compensation for the accomplishments which are generally present in a girl of his own class, and even before he had knowledge of her treachery he regretted the marriage:—"it would be pleasant to be in a position to choose a wife out of his own world, a girl with whom he could share the pleasures and interests of that world."²

It is not, however, always that marrying out of one's own class means certain misery. Keith Rickman in "The Divine Fire" by May Sinclair, whose original has been thought to be the poet

¹ Arnold Bennett—Imperial Palace (Caseell & Co. Ltd., 1951), p. 680.

² Alec Waugh—The Last Chukka (A Case of Peace) Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1928, p. 66.

Francis Thompson, and who is facetiously described as "The child of 'Elias and of 'Ollywell Street—innocent of-er-rough breathing"¹ falls in love with Lucia, an accomplished lady who belonged to the aristocracy, and by giving proof of an unexampled fidelity through long years of suffering he at last won her as his bride. Rickman who was a poet of genius was by accident only a cockney—for he possessed the very soul of refinement. We are not, however, made acquainted with what happened after the marriage but the story easily justifies the presumption that the two found the bliss they had expected in their wedded love.

Gavin in "The Little Minister"² married Babbie—a girl whose origin was probably gypsy, there being no certain knowledge about it and who was expected to be married to Lord Rintoul, her patron and protector. Babbie had still the wild habits of her ancestors, and she loved to run away from home in order to roam about in complete freedom. There was not a habit or tradition in common between Gavin and Babbie yet after marriage they enjoyed an idyllic happiness.

The success of Gavin's marriage with Babbie fulfils a primitive instinct of humanity desiring to see love securely enthroned high above the conflicts of the world where experience shows that the day-to-day life is a serious matter, little fitted to preserve the high idealism cherished in the days of innocence. That the wild woman whose elusive comings and goings were a mystery to all and who had not learned to pay any deference to established laws and usages of society should settle down to peaceful life as wife of an impecunious minister is a fact which may very well be regarded as a picture of life more to be dreamt of than lived. But dreams have a reality in literature which makes such excursions into the idealistic not only permissible but so thoroughly enjoyable that an opportunity for such an escape from our clamant surroundings is by us most thankfully accepted.

Richard in "A man from the North"³ met Miss Roberts at a restaurant in London. He had ambitious plans of pursuing a literary career. Experience showed that he had overvalued his abilities and that success for him did not lie in that direction. Richard was a

¹ *May Sinclair—The Divine Fire* (Hutchinson & Co.), p. 15. Of course the parallel is not exact. Thompson's love for Alice Mayrell may have suggested the plot, but the details are all quite different. My thanks are due to Professor Humphrey House for having suggested this note to me.

² By J. M. Barrie.

solitary, and not having opportunities of being in the company of the other sex his starved sensibility acquired a certain morbid tenderness. He used to meet Miss Roberts frequently at the Crabtree where she was the cashier, and now and then exchange a word or a greeting with her. In his loneliness in that vast metropolis she seemed to possess a great significance for him; the attraction he discovered in her was "the supreme one of being a woman." Sitting on the Chelsea Embankment with Miss Roberts he had a sudden intuition of woman who had always fascinated man by virtue of being woman. "At that moment she belonged to no class. All the inessentials of her being were stripped away, and she was merely a woman, divine, desired, necessary, waiting to be captured."¹ The proposal of marriage was made and Miss Roberts accepted the offer. Although the attempt is made, wisely perhaps, to seclude human society in close compartments, the breaking of barriers has a special appeal which is hard to resist. And in a world where democracy has had such a long vogue, it can hardly be expected that class distinctions would be maintained with the obstinate tenacity with which a Lady Cheshire² would like to enforce it.

Sometimes little differences of taste and temperament are treated as a serious objection to marriage. It is not difficult to understand that slight causes are capable of assuming an importance quite out of proportion to their intrinsic nature when they have to be reckoned with as part of an hourly experience every day. Thus a habit like smoking with which one has to put up when using public vehicles from neighbours who are indulging in it, may appear as a nuisance when the atmosphere of a bedroom or the study is never free from its stench. Women have often shown a reluctance to inhale nicotine. In a play by Bernard Shaw the lover who is refused for the tenth time is at last introduced to the reasons which had prompted the refusal: "I'm a regular old maid. I'm very particular about my belongings...I have a very keen sense of beauty and fitness and cleanliness and order...The one thing I never could stand is a great lot of a man smoking all over my house and going to sleep in his chair after dinner, and untidying everything. Ugh!"³ In "My Lady Nicotine"⁴

¹ Arnold Bennett—*A man from the North* (Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1912), p. 268.

² In "The Eldest Son," by John Galsworthy.

³ *The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw*, p. 550, *Getting Married*, (Constable & Co. Ltd., 1931).

⁴ J. M. Barrie—*My Lady Nicotine*, Hodder & Stoughton (1915).

the fraternity held together by the Arcadia Mixture (tobacco) loses one of its prominent members through marriage. The lady there gives him six months' time to decide whether he would marry her and give up tobacco or stick to it and lose her. The member in the story, if he did not discover love stronger than death, was at any rate aware at the end of the period of grace that it was superior to the famous tobacco mixture. He lived to own that later in his life he had actually wondered what charm tobacco could have for a man.

"Marriage is more a woman's affair than a man's, and the art of marriage seems inborn in most women." Women often throw away their careers in order to get married, for they find in marriage their true vocation. Rita in "The Challenge to Sirius"¹ who has already made an enviable reputation in the literary field as author of some novels, recognizes her work as mediocre, admitting to Frank with whom she had an affair that her real life lay in marriage. She is not going to marry for love but for a home, a husband and children. All her life she has been "half and half, a kind of shandygaff." She will be a "real" woman since she cannot be a man and will cut out of her life her favourite programme of discovering talent and offering it suitable opportunities so that it may prosper. She has not been able to do good to anybody by this. Similarly in "Legend" Madala Grey tired of her celebrity as novelist, forsakes the literary career and marries one Mr. Carey whose entire lack of taste in things literary causes the marriage to be the subject of a speculation in which her admirers insist that this mystery of Madala's stooping to Mr. Carey can be cleared only by the assumption of a disappointment in an affaire de coeur on the part of Madala. But the just explanation comes from a girl who without having first-hand knowledge of Madala has a woman's heart and imagination to guide her: "But the real Madala Grey.....She was just a girl. She was hungry all the time. She was wanting her human life. And he, the man they laugh at, 'the thing she married,' he did love that real Madala Grey...Don't you see that was what she wanted? She could take from him as well as give. Life—the bread and wine—they shared it."² It is interesting to note

¹ Count Keyserling—*The Book of Marriage*, p. 24.

² Sheila Kaye-Smith—*The Challenge to Sirius* (Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1917), p. 108.

³ Clemence Dane (her real name is Winifred Ashton)—*Legend* (The Omnibus Book conducted by Katherine L. Monro, Wm. Heinemann, 1926, p. 198). "Legend" was dramatised under the name of "Bill of Divorcement" in 1921 and was instantly successful in the new garb. Indeed its original form with the string of conversations is not far different from a modern drama.

that the assertion that women place marriage above their careers comes from women novelists.

In recent years, however, it has come to be felt that the economic basis of marriage as it has so far existed involves an obvious injustice to the male. The emancipated woman who can have a career of her own if she desires now looks upon marriage as an equal partnership, free from the reproach of an economic dependence for women, which a generation ago was regarded as an entirely blameless state for women. With this changed outlook has come a new determination on the part of women to refuse to be treated as a chattel or possession by their husbands. As Norman Haire says: "In the future it is likely that the man and woman will each be self-supporting, or that they will pool their resources, or that the more capable will assume responsibility of supporting both."¹ This is already happening but the old conditions still persist. Changes more sweeping in their nature will appear as the years go by, and there is no doubt that the orthodox and the conventional will have to give way to the rational and the just.

The possessive instinct which man has shown in his attitude to his wife has received satirical treatment at the hands of many novelists but nowhere more effectively than in "The Foreyte Saga" of which full consideration is postponed to a later chapter. Women themselves have rebelled against being regarded as property and have raised their protest with passionate energy. Indeed, the old attitude is fast passing out of fashion and is being replaced by a more sensible one which finds no difficulty in accepting a basis of equality in marriage. Rather than submit to a husband as a possession, the modern woman would prefer to remain single and live economically free. In "Sinister Street" Sylvia Scarlett who was married to an Oxford man but who left him so that she might taste liberty even in the midst of sordid conditions would not allow her friend Lily to be taken away from her society by Michael who was anxious to marry her. Her objection was based on the ground that marriage would reduce Lily to the level of property. In her opinion there cannot be a greater wrong done to women than to treat them in this light. "Man can only wrong woman when he owns her, and if this marriage is going to be a success, you'll have to own Lily. That's what I

¹ Norman Haire—*Hymen or The Future of Marriage (To-day and To-morrow Series)*; also see, *The Way You Look at It*, by Edward Witherham, and kept by Alec Waugh.

rebel against—the ownership of women. It makes me mad.”¹ Etta in “Women Must Work” runs away from home to be on her own, and when she thinks of marriage, it is with a man with whom her association will not mean loss of self-respect for her. “If I marry a man, I want to marry him as an equal, not a parasite. I want to respect myself.”²

The change that has taken place in regard to ideas on the subject of marriage which we have so far dealt with is the result of an increased economic freedom for women and the state recognition of their status as equals of men in their civic and political capacity. Feminine chastity³ which has been held among civilized peoples to be a virtue of the utmost significance and to the loss of which was attached penalty and social opprobrium⁴ is now being looked upon as a thing of indifferent interest. Thus there is nothing particularly amazing in Tom’s advice to his pupil Hawkes, an Oxford under-graduate, in “We Have Been Warned” regarding the fitness of having sex relations with Miss Newall before his marriage with her as a step to minimise the chances of the marriage proving a failure: “Couldn’t you manage to sleep with Miss Newall once or twice before bringing up the question of marriage again? My dear chap, don’t take offence, there’s nothing wrong with the suggestion.”⁵ We learn, however, that Miss Newall has had plenty of relationships with men which Hawkes is not prepared to consider too seriously. This is not merely a stray case to be treated more or less as an exception but is a sign that in certain vital matters the attitude has already changed so much that the old orthodox ideas need a thorough revision before they can be in harmony with the new conditions that have emerged.

One fact to which attention has been repeatedly called is the difficulty of separating honourably when the marriage has proved unsuccessful. Tony in “All Men Are Enemies” has a bitter experience to complain of and his case is by no means an isolated one.

¹ Compton Mackenzie—*Sinister Street*, Vol. II, Martin Secker, 1923, p. 106.

² Richard Aldington—*Women Must Work* (Chatto & Windus, 1934), p. 25.

³ C. E. W. Joad prefers loss of chastity for women as the outcome of the economic independence gained by them: “knowing that she is not dependent upon a man for her livelihood, she will no longer have the incentive to tender to the man’s demand for virginity in his prospective wife by remaining chaste until marriage” (*Threynialbus or the Future of Morals, To-day and To-morrow Series*), p. 50.

⁴ Cf. *The Tempest*, Act IV, Sc. 1, verses 15-23. Note how many Elizabethan plays turn on this one point.

⁵ Naomi Mitchison—*We Have Been Warned* (Constable & Co., Ltd., 1935), p. 189.

Between him and Margaret the marriage has been a mere social fact without its all-important complement in spiritual unity. If there was no other reason this should be a sufficient one for parting company but law would not allow them to take any such freedom. It does not agree with him that "The real human fact is the wrong of their being together if they don't want it, and the wrong of their being apart if they do."¹ Although in English law marriage is a contract, it cannot unlike other contracts be rescinded by the consent of the parties who enter into it. The law assumes a guilty party, and when the guilt is established it penalizes the delinquent by imposing a fine to be paid to the innocent party. Whatever the actual situation it is not "good form" to prove the wife guilty. The husband has, therefore, to manufacture evidence against himself.² Even if there is a woman in the business whom he intends marrying when divorce is granted, it is not again "good form" to drag her name into the proceedings. The delay, expense, and other complications involved in a divorce render it so highly undesirable that even when all the circumstances are present for establishing a divorce, many sensitive tempers recoil from its shame and publicity. Tony who discusses the peculiarities of the English law of divorce with Katha often finds her incredulous because she sees too many absurdities in it to accept the account he is giving as a truthful relation. He is, however, careful to bring out the absurdity of the law himself by his piquant observation: "if the husband has been the guilty party he must pay his ex-wife one-third of his income for life. Thus no man in England can have or have had more than three wives."³ If the wife is the guilty party her paramour or the co-respondent is made to pay damages to the husband. Bertrand Russell upholds divorce by mutual consent when there is no particular reason for one party to seek it. He regards insanity as a reason of this class. He is in favour of restricting divorce on the ground of adultery⁴ but he does not recognise in easy divorce a solution of the troubles of marriage. When there are children in a marriage Russel thinks that a divorce should be waived in their interest.

Birth control has in these days come into increasing vogue, and there is perhaps no single circumstance which has as profoundly affected the attitude to marriage and morals as this. At first there

¹ Richard Allington—*All Men Are Enemies*, p. 135.

² C.P. A. P. Herbert—*Holy Deadlock*.

³ Richard Allington—*All Men Are Enemies*, p. 172.

⁴ Bertrand Russell—*Marriage and Morals* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1929), p. 154.

was considerable opposition to it from people who believed "when God sent a mouth, He sent the food to fill it." But the general economic conditions have rendered such a position untenable, and it may now be confidently asserted that birth control has come to stay. It has led to a great diminution of the birth-rate in the West and among all civilised peoples generally. The artificial limitation of family, although useful in the maintenance of a certain standard of comfort and luxury and in avoiding economic hardship, has provided opportunities for pre-marital and extra-marital relationships without any restraint.

The old sex morality is breaking down through the operation of various new forces, among which the wide spread practice of birth control will take a significant place. Every where there are signs to show that the moral atmosphere is in a process of rapid change. Plays and novels reflecting social conditions testify to the casual and entirely irresponsible manner in which affairs are formed and broken off. It is often said that the great mass of men and women have become more superficial in their emotional life than they were ever before. In "Point Counter Point" Lucy Tantamount accepts Walter on a purely physical basis. She has other affairs too, and she is not at all prepared to be in love with him. Anything so deep and serious is inconvenient and altogether unwelcome. This is what she thinks of him: "There was something very nice about him.....And tiresome as it was, his love-sickness did at least make him faithful. That, for Lucy, was important. She was afraid of loneliness and needed her cavalier servants in constant attendance."¹ Marjorie Carling's elopement with Walter from the protection of her husband, the intrigue of Lady Edward with John Bidlake, and the infidelities of Sidney Quarles, are only some of the episodes of married life which can be gathered from this novel. Etta in "Women Must Work" left her home in Dorsetshire and entered business in London by which, after years of struggle, she succeeded in making plenty of money. She was attracted by Francis about whom we are told that he tired of his wife soon after his marriage "and while keeping up the façade of domestic felicity—even to her—he had returned to more exciting pursuits."² Etta had a baby by him because she desired to have a child whom she could cherish as a manifestation of their mutual love. She

¹ Aldous Huxley—Point Counter Point (Ch. ten & Windsor, 1928), p. 125.

² Richard Aldington—Women Must Work, p. 256.

had now more knowledge of Francis and saw his perfidious nature fully revealed. She, however, brought up the child and later on married a young artist who had sought her help in order to secure some work at the firm of which she was one of the Directors. Public opinion does not still accept a love child without being scandalized, and instructed by her friend Vera, Etta had to pretend that the father of the baby was killed in the war. Maurice Raymond who married her was, however, aware of the true facts but he did not consider the child to be a barrier to the marriage. Kitty in "The Painted Veil"¹ allowed herself to have extra-marital relations with Charlie, and it was only when she suspected knowledge on the part of her husband that she spoke to him about arranging for a divorce. But she did not know that Charlie had no serious intentions about her and was only gallant to her.

It is needless to multiply instances. Facts are not wanting to show that moral ideas have become revolutionised and that sex infidelities have become a frequent occurrence. There used to be one moral standard for men and another and far more rigid one for women. But now there is only one standard for both sexes. One author states the following causes as having been responsible for the changed situation: "the decay of orthodox religious beliefs; the progressive economic emancipation of women; the increasing dissemination of knowledge of birth control; the effects of the late war, and the general reaction to the standardisation imposed by modern industrialism."²

The changes that are taking place are in some cases very serious indeed. But transitional periods have always been disquieting, for extreme views are then not only professed but practised. When there is no lack of intelligence and seriousness of purpose in the leaders, it may safely be concluded that some suitable standard will be evolved which will raise the moral tone of society and will fill the life of the individual with greater happiness.

There is now a general dissatisfaction with marriage. The phenomenon is viewed hopefully by an authority who writes: "It means a high ideal and a desire to attain it, for marriage is really an achievement."³

¹ W. Somerset Maugham—The Painted Veil (Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1926)

² Ralph De Fomerai—Aphrodite or The Future of Moral Relationship (To-day and To-morrow Series) 1931, p. 61.

³ Havelock Ellis—Sex Psychology, p. 274.

No reference is made to Galsworthy's novels in the above study. The writer intends to give one or two separate chapters to a critical examination of Galsworthy's work in fiction in his book on 'Recent English Fiction' of which the present essay forms a chapter.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN CONTEMPORARY REALISM

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CONTEMPORARY Realism¹ arises as a reaction from Idealism, subjective and objective. Subjective idealism reduces the object to the subject and objective idealism believes in an Absolute subject apart from which the world is unreal. Against all these contemporary Realism starts with the three assumptions of directness of perception, independence of objects and objectivity of all sense.

Now, without trying to show whether these assumptions are valid or not, we shall see how far the contemporary Realists are true to their assumptions. And the first pit-fall comes out with the problem of appearance. Does the snake, seen on the rope, belong to the rope? Is it the rope itself, or a part of the rope? Obviously none. Alexander tries to skip over the difficulty by distinguishing three classes of appearance: the real appearance, the mere appearance and the illusory appearance. A real appearance is the part of an object. The thing is the sum of its own parts or real appearances. The mere appearance is seen along with other things. The stick is seen bent in water because of its combination with water. The foreign thing distorts the object and "makes it not a real appearance but a mere appearance." (*Space, Time & Duty*, Vol. II, p. 165.) The mere appearance is conditioned by actual physical causes. The illusory appearance, on the contrary, is a case of real object wrongly placed. The real and objective snake is wrongly referred to the rope and hence the illusion. This reference is subjective and therefore illusory. The elements of illusion are all objective but their unity is subjective. "When I fancy a horse's body, and complete it with a man's head, the head exists in reality, but not upon horse's body." (*Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Vol. X, p. 24.) The illusory appearance thus does not belong to the object, whereas the real appearance and the mere appearance do belong. "The real point of distinction is that a real

¹ With the exception of Critical Realism which is an attempt to show a way out of the impasse created by the Neo-Idealists by abolishing the distinction between truth and error and which does not believe in the objectivity of all sense like all other contemporary Realists.

appearance and a mere appearance really do belong to the things apprehended (though in the latter case not to the thing which seems alone to be apprehended) while an illusory appearance does not." (Space, Time and Deity, Vol. II, p 196.)

There are thus three classes of appearances and we find it difficult to accept the classification. For what is meant by a real appearance? An appearance is always an appearance and never a reality. A real appearance is a contradiction in terms. If the real appearance is the part of the thing, why not call it the part of the thing? Again, if the real appearance is the part of the thing, where is the boundary line of that part? Is it an actual line-drawn on the thing, or a mere imaginary line? If it is an imaginary line, then the object contains subjective elements and the realistic thesis of objectivity of all sense is negated.

Then as to mere appearance: A mere appearance is an appearance by itself. It has no reference to the original. It is not the appearance of anything particular. If it were the appearance of anything, it would be a false appearance. The appearance of bent-stick in the water is neither the appearance of the stick nor the water, though it belongs to both stick and water. Hence it is merely an appearance without being the appearance of anything.

We, however, object to this mere appearance. An appearance, by itself, is unmeaning. An appearance must be the appearance of something. Further, the so-called mere appearance is also a case of illusory appearance. There are two classes of illusory appearances. One class is corrected by perception and another by thought. The so-called mere appearance is a case of illusory appearance corrected by thought.

Lastly, Alexander's analysis of illusory appearance is, on the one hand, unsound and on the other, the very negative of the realistic thesis of objectivity of all sense. The illusory object is said to be as real as the normal object or perception. What is illusory is the unusual nature of connection between real objects. The snake is real and the rope is the same. There is illusion because the subject wrongly refers the snake to the rope. But what is the object in illusion? Is it the snake in the Zoo, or the snake on the rope? Am I frightened by an elsewhere and elsewhen real snake or by the snake here and now on the rope? Undoubtedly the here and now snake frightens me and it is distinctly the object of my perception

in illusion. Is this here-and-now snake real? Why, then, does it disappear when the illusion is corrected and I know the true nature of the rope? Is it, then, unreal? But it appears and frightens me. It is, therefore, neither real, nor unreal, but something indescribable. Hence Alexander's contention that the object of illusory appearance is real elsewhere, is unsound.

In the next place, Alexander holds that the illusory appearance is the result of wrong subjective reference of a real object to a place where it does not belong. It is this subjective reference which constitutes the illusion. The snake seen on the rope is wrongly referred by the subject to the rope. But the snake on the rope, as we have seen, is the object of perception in illusion and not a snake real elsewhere. Is the illusory object, then, constituted by the subject? What about the general realistic position then, that *sensa* are all objective?

Alexander, thus, cannot give a satisfactory account of illusory appearance in consistency with the realistic assumptions. And coming to Russell, we find the same mistake committed. In "Our knowledge of the External World" and "Mysticism in Logic," Russell distinctly says that objects of sense are never unreal. What is illusory is the wrong inference to which they give rise. This is practically Alexander's position and the arguments that applied there apply *mutatis mutandis* here also.

Nor does Moore improve the case. In his paper "Refutation of Idealism," he upholds the doctrine of objectivity of all *sensa*. Primary qualities and secondary qualities are all objective and the object is never constituted by the subject. But in the paper, "The Nature and Reality of Objects of Perception," he admits illusions of sense, and lastly in the paper, "Some Judgments of Perception," he holds that *sensa* are parts of things. In this paper he does not say anything definite about illusions of sense. But he declares in the previous paper, "The Conception of Reality," published only one year earlier, that to be real means to belong to things. Hence those *sensa* are real which belong to things and consequently in the paper, "Some Judgments of Perception," he holds that *sensa* are parts of things. Does he, then, in the end believe that real *sensa* are parts of things and illusory *sensa* do not belong to things? But he is the originator of the realistic thesis of objectivity of all *sensa* in England.

Moore, thus, leaves us in a puzzle with regard to illusory appearance and coming to the American Neo-Realists, we find that they simply cut the Gordian knot without giving a real solution of the problem. They believe in Pan-objectivism and eliminates the distinction between truth and error. Holt says in "The New Realism," pp. 372-373, "The picture which I wish to leave is of a general universe of being in which all things physical, mental, and logical propositions and terms, existent and non-existent, false and true, good and evil, real and unreal, subsist." In the same breath Perry says in the "Journal of Philosophy, Vol. XIII, p. 569" : "Truth and error, both involve an objective.....Moreover, the presence of this objective factor in error would seem to belie its supposed erroneousness. In order even to believe erroneously I must believe something. There must be something for me to believe. That which I believe is what I believe it to be. Then how am I in error?"

This casting of truth and error into the same mould and the abolition of the distinction between them is what both commonsense and reasoning simultaneously reject. There is certainly a distinction between truth and error and simply to ignore the distinction does not satisfy the claims of reason.

Contemporary Realism, thus, fails to give a satisfactory account of the problem of appearance which is the Achilles heel of the realistic doctrines. But this is not all. The problem of introspection presents another difficulty. In introspection, at least, the object is subjective and this supplies the *locus standi* of the idealist to declare the subjectivity of the object. Hence, to be consistent, the realist must deny introspection. And this is exactly what Alexander and Russell do. According to Alexander the mind can never 'contemplate' itself as it 'contemplates' the tree or the table. But if the mind is not known how can he speak of knowledge? To avoid the difficulty he declares that 'contemplation' and 'enjoyment' go *pari passu*. The mind enjoys itself as it 'contemplates' the object. "In perceiving I enjoy my own act as together with the object contemplated, the table." (P. 319, *Mind*, 1913, Vol. XXI.)

But is it a fact that to know the object is, *ipso facto*, to know the self? Alexander replies in the affirmative with the necessary precaution that the knowing of self does not mean that mind itself is the object. Introspection is nothing but the object-consciousness developed. This position follows from his theory of knowledge. In knowledge

the object acts on the organism which, in its turn, reacts or responds to it and after this response the quality of consciousness arises. This response is the *conditio sine qua non* of consciousness. Consciousness is not possible at all, if the object does not act on the organism and the organism does not react on it. Hence if there is no object, there is no consciousness, though the object is a full-blooded entity existing in its own right. It exists if there is no consciousness to know it. The relation between the two is asymmetrical. The subject is impossible without the object, but the object is quite possible without the subject. The object is independent of the subject, though the subject is dependent on it. This being the case, to know the object is at once to know the self. In contemplating the object, consciousness arises and along with that consciousness there is the 'enjoyment' of that consciousness. Consciousness is possible on the activity of the object; consciousness of consciousness, therefore, must be along with the object consciousness and can be nothing more than the expanded or explicit object consciousness.

Thus if one is to accept Alexander's analysis of knowledge, one must accept his position with regard to introspection that it is nothing but the object consciousness developed. But if it sounds odd that knowing is at the same time knowing of knowing, that in introspection the mind itself is not the object, then the whole analysis of the knowledge relation of Alexander is to be given up.

Russell means, by introspection, practically the same thing as Alexander. Though his analysis of knowledge is different from that of Alexander, as they both believe in the objectivity of *sensa*, their ideas colour so far as introspection is concerned. Introspection is nothing but a 'cautious interpretation' of the object. Of course this is in the third stage of Russell's realistic development. In the first stage he believes in introspection and thinks that in it the Mind itself is the object. But in his 'An Outline of Philosophy,' he distinctly declares that introspection is not very much different from the knowing of the external object. Only, in it, our intention is different and we are more certain of our knowledge of the external object.

Moore, perhaps, is not conscious that introspection presents a difficulty to the claim of the objectivity of all *sensa*. In his urge to refute Idealism, he claims the objectivity of all *sensa* and yet admits that in introspection the object is subjective.

The American Neo-Realists, like Alexander, take introspection

to be object consciousness. According to Holt, it is nothing but a perception of the interior of the body. It, really, is a sense-observation. The interior of the organism itself is the object in introspection. Hence, introspection is only an object consciousness, the object being the interior of the body.

Holt, thus, agrees with Alexander that introspection is but an object consciousness, though he arrives at the conclusion in a quite different way. But Holt cannot do it consistently with his theory of consciousness. Consciousness belongs to the outer world and is not in the organism. He says in his "The Concept of Consciousness, p. 181": "The phenomenon of response defines a cross-section of the environment without, which is a neutral manifold. Now this neutral cross-section outside of the nervous system, and composed of the neutral elements of physical and non-physical objects to which the nervous system is responding by some specific response,—this neutral cross-section, I submit, coincides exactly with the list of objects of which we say that we are conscious. This neutral cross-section as defined by the specific reaction of reflex-acts is the psychic realm: it is the manifold of our sensations, perceptions and ideas:—it is consciousness." If, then, sensations, perception and ideas belong to the outer world, consciousness of consciousness must belong to the same place. It cannot be simply the perception of the interior of the body. Consciousness belongs to the 'cross-section' cut out by the specific response of the nervous system and consciousness of consciousness to be anything, must be there. But Holt holds that consciousness is there in the external environment and consciousness of consciousness is the perception of the internal organism. If consciousness is in the 'cross-section' of the environment, consciousness of consciousness must be the perception of that 'cross-section' where consciousness belongs and not the perception of the interior of the organism. Holt, however, tries to ignore the difficulty by holding that introspection is no criterion of consciousness. "The true criterion of consciousness is not introspection, but specific responsiveness." (The Concept of Consciousness, p. 206). But whether introspection is the criterion of consciousness or not, it is, at least, consciousness of consciousness and it seems quite absurd that consciousness is in the perceived external environment and consciousness of consciousness is the perception of the interior of the organism. Again one can hardly believe that consciousness is there in the external environment and

not in one's own self. Holt, thus, disappoints us both in his account of consciousness and consciousness of consciousness.

One more point remains to be cleared and we finish the essay. Some of the realists are very particular about the substantivity of relations and their conception of relation in general modifies the conception of the relation between the subject and the object. Thus according to Alexander, the knowledge relation is a compresence relation; Moore takes it to be an external relation. To Russell, all relations are external, to Moore some relations are external and among the external relations, the space relation and the knowledge relation are very important. Alexander does not openly declare that relations are external but they are substantives. He takes the inspiration from W. James. James passed many sleepless pillows and one fine morning there was the revelation in him, that, at least, the space relation is substantive. "The terms were spaces and relations were other intervening spaces." (W. James, *Meaning of Truth*, p. 133.) This revelation of W. James also has opened the eye of Alexander and the view which he maintains is that "what James says of Space and Time and other ambulatory relations is true of all relations" and a "relation may be as substantive as the terms." (*Mind*, Vol. XXI, pp. 307-308.) But he admits that a relation is not independent of the terms, that it is not a third something added to the terms. Hence if by an external relation we mean that a relation is a third something hooked on to the terms, then relations are not external. A relation is the "whole situation into which the terms which stand into the relation enter." (*Mind*, Vol. XXI, p. 307.) It is continuous with the terms.

Thus, according to Alexander all relations are substantives and consequently the 'compresence' relation is so. But is relation a substantive? Can it be understood by itself? A relation by itself is unmeaning. A relation must be between two specified terms. Without terms the relation is a misnomer. The terms may be conceived without the relation but the relation is unthinkable without the terms. A relation, indeed, can never be a substantive. The so-called substantivity of a relation is only a symbolism. It does not mean that a relation is a chimera. It is a belief the correct logical formulation of which is impossible.

Thus the theory of the substantivity of relation is unsatisfactory and correspondingly the particular "compresence" relation of Alexander is unsound.

Russell is an earnest champion of external relations. But he assures us that by an external relation he does not mean that a relation is a third something which is hooked on to the terms. That is a mischievous propaganda of the idealist who is an enemy of external relations and who consequently misinterprets his position. In "Contemporary British Philosophy" edited by Muirhead in 1924, he distinctly declares that a relation is not an external thing added to the terms. What, then, does he mean by the externality of relations? If relation is an external factor, it must be a *tertium quid* which is connected to the terms. But Russell is aware of the puzzle urged by Bradley against the externality of relations and he is not ready to admit that the relation is a hook which is somehow connected to the terms. Hence he falls into a difficulty which he has the frankness to admit. "The subject of relations is very difficult, and I am far from claiming to be now clear about it." (Contemporary British Philosophy, p. 370.) He, however, gives us a solution. "A relational proposition is not, in general, logically equivalent formally to one or more subject-predicate propositions. Stated more precisely: Given a relational propositional function ' $x R y$ ' it is not, in general, the case that we can find predicates α, β, γ such that for all values of x and y , $x R y$ is equivalent to $x\alpha, y\beta, (x, y) \gamma$ (where (x, y) stands for the whole consisting of x and y), or to any one or two of these." (Contemporary British Philosophy, First Series, p. 373.)

But what does Russell mean by the assertion that a relational proposition is not equivalent to a subject-predicate proposition? Does it not mean that a relation is something more than A & B, where A & B are the terms of the relation? But this idea of something more is quite inapplicable to the fact that A is related to B. Indeed a relation is, by no means, a substantive and hence not external.

Externality of relations is, thus, illogical and consequently Moore's analysis that knowledge is an external relation between the subject and object, is defective.

Contemporary Realism, thus, with all its freshness and contemporaneity, is not without its difficulties. This shows that three hundred years of definite epistemological enquiries, beginning from Locke up to the contemporary Realists, have not been able to solve the problem of knowledge. Indeed, human intellect is frail.



DANCING GAṆEŚA
(Rajshahi Museum)

THE DANCING GAṆEŚA

SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI, M.A.

The artist in India is not the master of his own theme, nor does he choose his own problems. For him they are laid down in the *Sāstras*, or canonical prescriptions, which lay down instructions to make such and such images in such and such a fashion. Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati is an important deity in the Brahminical pantheon. He is the god of luck, the giver of success (*Siddhidātā*), the remover of obstacles (*Vighnāntaka*) and the patron of merchants, of writers (for he is the scribe of the gods) and in fact of every one, who should invoke him before any enterprise or before appealing to any other divine being. He is thus a fairly popular deity in Indian art and there are rather prolific texts regarding his images. All of them are agreed in giving him a dwarfish human form, an elephantine head, a pot-belly and a small rat as the divine mount. The texts further lay down that he may have four, six, or eight hands (the attributes in the hands however varying in different texts), should have a third eye on the elephantine forehead and should wear a snake as the sacred thread. This conception—dwarfish human form, elephantine head, pot-belly, serpentine sacred thread and last, though not the least, the ignoble rat as the precious charger—would seem to be a combination of absurdities unattainable in any living work of art. Not only this. The *Sāstras* have an even greater task for the votaries of art. They enjoin various forms for an image of Gaṇeśa, not barring even several dancing forms. And, it can be well presumed, that when this elephantine lord of obstacles (*Vighnēśvara* as he is familiarly called) takes the fancy of enjoying a dance, verily he piles up almost insurmountable obstacles to the artist aspiring for a successful delineation of this divine pastime.

In Eastern India, especially in Bengal, the images of the dancing Gaṇeśa are rather common. The most successful specimens come from Bengal. This fact shows that in spite of the odds and obstacles the Bengali artists did not hesitate to take up this rather bold theme of a dancing elephantine god, and it goes to their credit that in most of

these images the theme has been wonderfully translated in stone. The obstacles have been overcome, the odds have been harmonised into pleasing works of art, full of life, action and rhythm of the dance, though not a single of the uncouth elements, which the *Sāstras* enjoin, has been eliminated. All such elements are there, but no longer as absurdities, rather as helpful and necessary factors, contributing to the peculiar charm, grace, rhythm and vitality of the figure, which the artist, by his genius, has achieved through a dwarfish form, a pot-belly and an elephantine head.

The dancing Ganeśa (*Nṛitya-Gaṇapati*) is a favourite theme in South-Indian texts on *Silpaśāstras*. But the actual images that are met with in Southern India are not of much merit, as compared to those in Bengal and Eastern India. The South-Indian sculptors have lavished all their genius and attention on that grand conception of Śiva as Naṭarāja, "the Lord of the Dancers," and their complete mastery of the rhythmic movement of the dance is fully evident not only in so many bronze figures in the round, but also in the remarkable relief sculptures at Ellora, Elephanta, etc. But their efforts to give shape to the idea of Gaṇeśa as the dancer are lacking in life and action, it may be, because of their inability to master the difficult problem of harmonising the absurd elements in the composition of an icon of Gaṇeśa into a rhythmic dance-form. In this respect the artists of Eastern India appear to be more successful and their achievements perhaps greater.

The dancing Gaṇeśa, we have already said, is a fairly popular theme in the Eastern Indian school of sculpture, i.e., the Pāla school (c. 800-1200 A.D.), which had its zone in Bengal and Bihar. A number of such images have been preserved in the various museums, such as the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Patna Museum, the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, the British Museum, etc., while numbers of them can still be seen lying scattered throughout the ancient sites of these two sister provinces. Let us illustrate here three specimens as representatives of the type. Two of them are now preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, while the third, happily a most perfect one, is now being worshipped in the house of Bahu Krishnakinkar Bhattacharyya of Dinajpur. Usually the pot-bellied god is seen dancing on a full-blown lotus seat in the centre of the pedestal, between two female musicians, on either side, who keep time with the help of a pair of



DANCING GAṆEŚA

(Dancejari)

cymbals and a drum. The carrier, the insignificant rat, is usually shown below on one side of the pedestal looking up and enjoying the divine impulse. The third specimen reproduced here, however, represents a welcome variation in the usual type and here we find the god dancing on the slender back of his mount, which bends down under the elephantine weight of its master. The god is shown with either six or eight hands. Of the main pair the right is held in *abhaya mudrā* (pose of granting security), while the corresponding left is stretched outwards, or swings across the body in what is known as the *gajahasta*. The other hands are evenly and symmetrically disposed, carrying the usual attributes of Ganeśa, such as *danta* (tusk), *akṣamālā* (rosary), *paraśu* (axe), *mūlaka* (radish), *vodakapātra* (cup of sweetmeats), *śarpa* (snake), etc. The elephantine head, crowned by a pyramid of matted locks, is shown with only one tusk, as is enjoined by the texts, and the proboscis is turned to one side. The god exhibits all the usual ornaments, such as the *nūpara* (tinkling anklet), the *mekhala* with the *kaṭicītr*: (girdle with pendant), the *śalaya* (bracelet) and the *keyūra* (eardrop). A snake passes round his body as the sacred thread, but it falls rather short in comparison with his distended belly. The back slab of such an image is, as a rule, sparsely decorated, possibly with a view to emphasise the life and beauty to be noticed in the main motif.

Such are the images we have chosen for this theme. Some critics would call the type hideous and grotesque. Some would shrink from it as a monstrous shape unsuitable for any higher form of aesthetic representation. To this class of critics the multiplication of limbs or heads or the addition of any animal element is in itself a very grave defect. In short, their allegations resolve into the 'complaint that Indian art is not always representative, i.e., they are not true to nature. The gods, we should remember, 'belong to a world of their own,' which is 'other than the one we are familiar with.' Whatever in a work of art is ostensibly representative must be judged according to the logic of the world it represents—even if that world be no other than the idea world of the *sādhana*s and *dhyānamantrams*. It is no criticism hence of an Indian icon to point out that we know of no human being with more than two arms or one head or with an elephant's head. This summary treatment is however a mere shelving of the question. Apart from it, we shall try to show that, in spite of all its so-called defects, this particular type satisfies the recognised standards of the artists and the connoisseurs.

"Leonardo says that the figure is most worthy of praise which by its action best expresses the passion that animates it." ¹ In other words, a work of art is great in so far as it is a clear and impassioned expression of its subject-matter. Let us see how far our images satisfy this test. The theme here is the dance, the dancer is the elephantine god, (Ganapati. The substance of this dance, we shall presently see, is given in these images in a few rhythmic, yet sensitive, movements. The Lord dances, dances on the back of his mount, to the tune of music of two female musicians on his two sides. The short and plump limbs, the distended belly, the elephantine head and even the ignoble carrier are all enlinked and enlaced in terms of the general dance. The figure is poised upon one foot, in the bent ankle of which is concentrated firm strength. The other limb moves with the jingling sound of the anklet, rather easily and gracefully, to keep the balance, and in this it takes a momentary pause when the toe softly touches the ground. The two normal arms keep in the decisive bends of their *mudras*—the left either forcibly stretched outwards or gracefully swinging across the breast (*gajahasta*), the right held up granting security (*abhaya*)—no symbol and no attribute, but a powerful rhythm, which glides from arm to arm. The other arms—each with its own gesture and its own expression—are but one outburst of divine energy. Many arms are no 'additional members.' Not only equally possible in its connection with the body, each arm has its proper place in the general scheme. But for these 'added elements' the whole whirl of the dance, so remarkably suggested, would have been lost. They are no longer the hands of a dancing figure. They visualise the dance itself. The distended belly and even the elephantine head experience the infinite joy of the dance, so well expressed by their easy and graceful bends, the proboscis itself swinging to one side in rhythmic symphony. We cannot eliminate anything from the conception that would seriously mar the peculiar beauty of the image—not even the humble carrier, which, in one example, with upraised tail but with the body bending down under the tremendous weight of the lord, dances in ecstatic joy looking up wistfully at the face of its master, deep in the joys of his own dance.

¹ Cozzarovsky, A. K., *The Dance of Siva*, p. 68.



DANCING GANESHA
(Kajalata Museum)

Such is the dance of Gaṇeśa executed in stone by Eastern Indian artists. The idea is new and the conception bold, and he, who has been able to harmonise this seemingly impossible theme into a graceful work of art is surely a true artist. The whole figure, as we notice in these images, is of rare charm in its rhythmic pose and gesture. The whole composition is under the control of an animating impulse that induces the dance, and it has been so clearly expressed by happily balanced movements. The artist has been able to put remarkable life and reality to the theme, which, in spite of the added and absurd elements, is wonderfully organic, not with regard to the physical only, but organic as a spiritual embodiment. No part of the whole is at war with one another; nothing in that form is rebellious or jarring. The seeming opposites have been blended and harmonised, and, "the matching of opposites produces the true rhythm of life."¹

¹ Reinan Holzer, Foreword to Coomaraswamy's *The Dance of Śiva*, p. iii.



CURRENCY EVENTS DURING THE DEPRESSION (I).

DR. J. C. SINGH, M.A., Ph.D.

THE two chief events of Indian currency during the last economic depression were the linking of the rupee with sterling and gold exports from India. The policy of silver sales by the Government of India, although inaugurated long before the depression, even before the pre-depression crisis, became important with the return of redundant rupees from circulation, during the course of the depression, and the disposal by Government of India will be examined before we discuss the two chief events of the depression.

SILVER SALES AND THEIR EFFECTS.

The Hilton Young Commission rightly observed that silver reserves were ordinarily out of place in a gold standard system and had recommended that the silver holding in the Paper Currency Reserve should during a transitional period of 10 years be reduced to 25 crores only.

Following this recommendation, the Government of India began their silver sale as early as 1917. At first the sale was confined to the Government stock of uncoined fine silver bars but later on rupees were melted and sold in the form of bars. With the deepening of the course of the depression, more and more rupees began to return to Government and silver sale went on apace.

Partly, as a revenue measure, partly to support the price obtained from the sale of melted rupees, and partly "to increase the value of the silver holdings of the Indian people," the Indian budget for 1930-31 provided for the reimposition of the import duty on silver which had been discontinued in 1920. The duty was fixed at 4 annas per ounce (Troy), effective from March 1, 1930, while an excise duty of the same amount was imposed on Indian production of silver, with effect from March 17, 1930. The duty was further raised to 7½ annas per ounce (Troy) by the emergency budget in September, 1931, but was

subsequently reduced first to 5 annas and then to 2 annas per oz. The budget for 1937-38 again raised it to 3 annas.

Such sale by the Government of India had a depressing effect on the world price of silver. Almost the only positive achievement of the World Economic Conference of 1933, was the silver agreement entered into in July, 1933 by India and certain other countries having silver interests. Under this agreement the Government of India agreed not to sell more than 140 million fine ounces of silver during the four years beginning from 1st January, 1934, *i.e.*, an average of 35 million fine ounces a year, subject to a maximum disposal of 50 million ounces in any year. The total quantity of silver sold by the Government of India from the beginning of their operations up to 31st March, 1935, amounted to 228 million fine ounces.

The great bulk of this silver, amounting to some 211 million ounces, was exported on Government account, mainly to the United Kingdom during the period.¹ This will be clear from Table I given over-leaf.

The table is otherwise interesting. It shows that India which is normally a silver-importing country, was transformed into an exporter of silver with effect from the year 1931-32. It may also be noted that in spite of the depression, the net import of silver into India in 1930-31 was higher in value than in 1928-29 and in 1929-30. The reason, as suggested by Prof. Gregory, is that the fall in the gold value of silver in 1930-31 was greater than that of Indian commodities in general. It was not therefore surprising that our consumption of silver increased during the year. But in 1931-32, our import of silver dropped by about Rupees 9 crores. Apart from the severity of the depression, the increase in the Indian import duty on silver, combined with a rise in its price, was responsible for this decline. The ready price of bar silver in London per ounce standard which was 13d. in September, 1931 rose to 17-3d. in October and 21-5d. in November next. This rise in the price of silver was accelerated by the silver

¹ The only important exception was the export in 1933-34. The total export of silver on Government account during the year was 507 million oz., out of which 29½ million oz. went to the United Kingdom and 21½ million oz. to the U. S. A. The latter was utilised by the British Government in making part payment of the War Debt to the United States Government. This is the reason why the maximum of 50 million oz. was allowed to be exceeded this year. It may be noted here that any silver for the purpose of payment of War Debt to the U. S. A. Government was excluded from the scope of the agreement, subject only to this limit that the total sale from India during the four years should not exceed 175 million fine oz.

TABLE I.

Export and Import of Silver.

+ indicates net export from India;

- indicates net import into India.

[Data from (1) the Annual Review of Trade of India and (2) Annual Statement of the Sea-borne Trade of British India, Vol. I.]

Year (April to March)	Import (in lakhs of rupees)			Export (in lakhs of rupees)		Total (6) + (7)	Net imports (in lakhs of rupees) (8) - (7)	Net export (in lakhs of rupees) (7) - (8)	Gross export on Govt. Acct. (in millions of fine etc.) (10)
	Private (3)	Government (4)	Total (5) = (3) + (4)	Private (1)	Government (2)				
Pre-War average 1900-10 to 1913-14	10.86	9.83	14.43	8.67	1	9.08	-10.73		
War average 1914-18 to 1919-20	4.36	28.57	36.28	1.77	1.97	5.04	-25.69		
Post-War average 1919-20 to 1923-24.	14.15	6.76	20.31	4.66	11	3.77	-17.67		
1927-29	16.44	3	16.47	2.99	5	3.54	-18.38		0.8
1929-30	15.03	...	15.03	2.88	2.77	6.15	-9.77		29.6
1930-31	18.96	6	18.67	1.47	3.72	4.79	-8.63		29.5
1931-32	13.46	7	13.47	1.81	1.57	5.86	-10.09		16.4
1931-32	4.63	7	4.63	1.62	3.02	4.85		+ 42	30.1
1932-33	1.63	-208	1.63	93	3.74	3.64		+ 9.73	25.0
1933-34	61	6	69	59	6.26	7.15		+ 6.26	20.9
1934-35	4.45	-302	4.45	4.05	3.78	9.66		+ 5.41	41.7
1935-36	4.46	2.03	6.46	3.15	3.54	7.25			
1936-37	19.57	...	19.57	29	...	28	-10.59		

policy¹ inaugurated by the U.S.A. Government in 1933. There was a further decline in the import and a corresponding increase in our export of silver, specially on Government account, with effect from the year 1933-34. From the beginning of the year 1936, the price of silver has, on the whole, remained fairly steady at about 20d. an oz., with the result that the outflow from India has diminished while the inflow has increased. In fact, the value of the net import of silver into India in 1936-37 practically reached the level of 1927-28.

The year 1931-32 during which India was, for the first time during the present century, a net exporter of silver in the world market, proved to be a critical one in the history of Indian currency. The collapse of prices and serious decline in trade created a very difficult situation for Government finance, both central and provincial. The budget of the Central Government for 1931-32 was estimated to provide a surplus of Rs. 31 lakhs but in spite of a 10 p.c. emergency cut in the salary of Government servants and a supplementary budget imposing new and increased taxation, the year closed with an actual deficit of Rs. 11.75 crores.

EXCHANGE CRISIS DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1931-32.

From the point of view of currency and exchange, the year may be divided into two distinct periods—(a) from April to September and (b) from October to March next. Throughout the first period, the exchange position was quite serious. The closing rate of exchange for the preceding year was 1s. 5½d. That rate continued to rule in the market with slight variation during April and May. Large offers of treasury bills at high rates kept the exchange rate from falling to the lower gold point. During the period April 1 to October 24, 1931, there was no remittance to the Secretary of State for India in Council by means of purchases of sterling in India, but £ 23,047,801 was transferred to the Home Treasury from the Gold Standard Reserve in

¹ By a proclamation issued on December 27, 1933, the U.S.A. ratified the Silver Agreement in London by which it undertook until 1937, to absorb annually not less than 24.4 million ounces of silver. Though the purchase was confined to silver mined in the U.S.A., it had a stimulative effect on the world price of silver. The Silver Purchase Act, passed in June, 1934, was of more importance. It directed the Secretary of the Treasury in the U.S.A. to purchase (but at his discretion) silver in bars and stores until it equalled in value one-third of the monetary stocks of gold held by the Treasury or until the market price of silver should reach \$ 1.29 an ounce. The London price of silver which was 20½d. in May, 1934, rose to 24 5/8d. by the end of the year. In May, 1935 it was 20½d. Then it began to fall and reached 19½d. in March, 1936. (*Report on Current Economic Conditions, Memorandum, No. 62, Royal Economic Society.*)

England, against gold transferred in India from the Paper Currency Reserve to the Gold Standard Reserve. These deflationary measures for keeping up the exchange rate proved futile. The position became distinctly worse at the end of May with the comparative failure of the Indian sterling loan in London. From the beginning of June, the Government began to sell reverse councils to whip up the exchange rate. Then came the announcement of the British Premier on the 27th of June, assuring us of the support, if necessary of the British Government, for maintaining our currency and credit. This had a salutary effect on the rupee-sterling rate which rose to 1s 5½d. on the 13th of July. This improvement was, however, temporary, for the exchange rate sagged to 1s. 5½d. i.e., just below the gold export point, on the 21st of July. This was mainly due to financial stringency in Great Britain and Central Europe. Investment in Indian treasury bills on foreign account ceased and there was a tendency to bring back the funds which had already been invested in India. Throughout the months of August and September, the rupee-sterling rate remained just below the gold export point. Altogether reverse councils worth £ 14 millions were sold by Government during the four months from June to September.

SUSPENSION OF GOLD STANDARD IN ENGLAND.

At this critical juncture, Government of India received on the morning of September 21, 1931, the information that British Government had decided to suspend the gold standard. This would have produced a serious financial crisis in India, for our position was then very vulnerable and that for two reasons, each equally grave. In the first place, our gold and sterling securities in Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves amounted on that date only to Rs. 57.82 crores against a note issue of some Rs. 146 crores. Secondly, our floating debt in the shape of Indian Treasury Bills (with the public and in the Paper Currency Reserve) was then as much as Rs. 80.78 crores. This entire amount together with Rs. 20 crores worth of short term debt, was due to mature within the next twelve months.

MEASURES ADOPTED BY INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

Three measures were immediately taken on the 21st of September by our currency authorities—(1) the bank rate of the Imperial Bank

was raised from 7 to 8 p.c. simultaneously with the rise in the Bank of England rate from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 p.c., (2) Ordinance No. VI of 1931 was issued relieving Government from their obligation under the Currency Act of 1927 to sell gold or sterling, and (3) the three days 22nd to 24th September were declared public holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act. The second of these, was a purely temporary measure for taking stock of the situation. It severed the rupee both from gold and sterling and gave it freedom to drift on an unchartered sea—a freedom which lasted however only for three days. The decision to link the rupee to sterling at 1s. 6d. rate was announced by Government on the 24th of September. On the same day Ordinance VII of 1931 was passed. It cancelled the Ordinance issued on September 21 and limited sales of gold or sterling "to finance required by recognised banks for the following purposes:—

(1) Normal trade requirements, excluding the import of gold or silver and the liquidation of the oversold exchange position of any bank in respect of any month subsequent to the month in which the demand for gold or sterling might be made, (2) contracts completed before the 21st September, and (3) reasonable personal and domestic purposes."

The system of exchange control introduced by this Ordinance was meant to check the flight from the rupee. It was feared that Indians might lose confidence in the rupee which had been linked to a currency off-gold and might buy with it exchange on gold standard countries. The fear however proved groundless. The Ordinance was therefore cancelled on the 30th January, 1932 and exchange control ceased from that date.

Thus, from September 25, 1931, India again passed on to sterling exchange standard, a system which had been pronounced to be unsuitable for India both by Babington Smith Committee and the Hilton Young Commission. The latter Commission had pointed out that "the system would have grave defects. The silver currency would still be subject to the threat implied in a rise in the price of silver. Were sterling once more to be divorced from gold, the rupee, being linked to sterling, would suffer a similar divorce. Should sterling become heavily depreciated, Indian prices would have to follow sterling prices to whatever heights the latter might soar, or, in the alternative, India would have to absorb some portion of such rise by raising her exchange." All this is no doubt true, but was not the situ-

ation in September, 1931, quite different from what was contemplated by the Hilton Young Commission? What the Hilton Young Commission really wanted to guard against, was soaring price in India but that was exactly the thing which was desired in September, 1931, if it could be attained, without making it more difficult for us to meet our foreign obligations. It is clear therefore that simply because the Hilton Young Commission condemned the sterling exchange standard in 1926, there was no reason why it should be rejected in 1931 on that ground alone. A deeper analysis is required for accepting or rejecting it.

The various Alternatives.

Four different courses were open to us on September 21, 1931:

- (1) To adhere to gold standard at 1s. 6d. (gold) rate, i.e. at the rate of 1 rupee=8.47 grains of fine gold.
- (2) To adhere to gold standard at a rate lower than 1s. 6d. (gold) rate.
- (3) To go off gold standard but not to link the rupee either to sterling or to any other currency.
- (4) To link the rupee to sterling at 1s. 6d. rate.

Was the first method really feasible and desirable? For about a year before September, 1931, the rupee-sterling rate was at or near the gold export point. In spite of deflationary measures, including sale of reverse councils, which has already been discussed, the Government of India was finding it extremely difficult to maintain 1s. 6d. (gold) rate. It was perhaps a God-send to Sir George Schuster that England went off the gold standard. It may be pointed out that it is difficult for a debtor country like India to maintain the gold standard, without a sufficiently high reserve, especially under the abnormal conditions brought about by the depression. It should not be forgotten that our exports consist of a few articles subject to great variations in prices. For instance, of our total export trade during 1930-31, raw cotton formed 21.9 p.c., jute (raw and manufactured) 20.30 p.c., grain, pulses and flour 13.55 p.c., tea 10.68 p.c. and seeds 8.10 p.c. Prof. Frank Graham has of course argued that the greatest ratio of gain from international trade will be obtained by the country which can secure all its imports by the export of one commodity only. But Brazil's reliance upon one commodity, viz., coffee, has created serious difficulties in her

foreign exchange market. In times of depression, the reliance upon a few exportable commodities, makes it extremely difficult for a country which is a debtor in the international capital market, to maintain the the gold standard. One should also remember how dangerously low the reserves of India were on September 21, 1931.

Even if we could have maintained 1s. 6d. (gold) rate, it would have meant very severe deflation of currency, especially in view of the gold rush in Europe which began after England's suspension of the gold standard. Since September 21, 1931, many central banks in the West realised their foreign assets and imported gold, with the result that the value of gold began to rise.

Most of the above arguments are also applicable to the second course mentioned above. Moreover there is an additional difficulty. What would be the lower rate—1s. 5d. or 1s. 4d. or 1s. 3d. or any other rate? If 1s. 4d. (gold) rate, i.e., 7.53 grains of fine gold per rupee, had been adopted, it would hardly have given any appreciable relief to Indian agriculturists. On the contrary, the ryot's position would have changed for the worse on account of subsequent deflation which even 1s. 4d. (gold) would have made inevitable.

Would it then have been desirable for us to follow the third alternative, *viz.*, to go off gold standard along with England but not to link the rupee to sterling or to any other currency? There has been a wide-spread demand in the country for this course. It has been argued that the rupee should have been allowed to find its natural level. But is there any 'natural' level for the rupee except its own bullion value? It is not clear whether this demand for a "free rupee not tied to the chariot wheels of sterling" really meant a return to silver standard or it was a plea for joining the race for exchange depreciation. In any case, under the abnormal conditions of September, 1931, the so-called "free rupee" would have made our exchange market the play-ground of speculators and we would have had a highly unstable exchange with probably a downward trend. But the benefit expected to be derived from this weakening of exchange would have proved illusory.

Under the special circumstances of India where foreign trade forms a small proportion of her total trade, it was unlikely that Indian prices in general would have risen *pari passu* with the depreciation of exchange. On the other hand, there was a danger that India's exports might have been penalised by foreigners.

Thus the linking of the rupee to sterling was the only practicable course open to us in September, 1931. It gave us the advantage of a regulated inflation along with sterling. It may be noted here that the moderate inflation of 1927 could not be kept under control even in a country like America where the banking system is far better organized than in India. Any attempt to initiate a major inflation in India, by letting exchange "go hang" could have ended only in disaster.

SHORT PERIOD AND LONG PERIOD VIEWS ON STERLING REURANCE STANDARD.

Though the adoption of sterling exchange standard was the only practicable course for us in September, 1931, it by no means follows, that the rupee should be permanently tied to sterling unless the latter approximates to the international standard. It is true that sterling now claims allegiance from a larger number of countries than the almighty dollar, for not only the whole of the British Empire but Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Argentina also belong to the sterling area. It is true that the latter countries are not bound together in a rigid monetary union, it is equally true that the position of sterling in the Empire countries, was considerably strengthened by 1935 with the completion of a chain of Central Banks. The Commonwealth Bank of Australia was transformed into a Central Bank during the period 1924-1932. South Africa had a Reserve Bank of her own as early as 1920. The New Zealand Reserve Bank has been working from 1934 and Indian and Canadian Central Banks have been functioning from 1935. The holding of "English sterling" reserves, as provided in the amendment to the Commonwealth Bank Act passed in May, 1932, the obligation of New Zealand Reserve Bank to buy and sell sterling, together with the provisions of the Indian Reserve Bank to hold its reserve in gold or sterling, constitutes a definite legal basis for sterling exchange standard. South Africa and Irish Free State are also operating such a standard. Canada alone, due to her close connection with the U.S.A., evidently desires that her Central Bank should operate gold standard in the near future. This will be evident from the comparatively large holding of gold in her reserve. On the 30th June, 1936, of the total reserve of the Bank of Canada, 95 p.c. consisted of gold coin and bullion. Though Canada is thus a doubtful vassal, the recent devaluation of the franc has

increased the number of adherents of the sterling exchange standard. Greece, Latvia and Turkey have all forsaken the French franc for British sterling. From the beginning of 1934, Japanese currency has been practically linked to sterling at an average rate of 1s. 2d. per yen. In spite of this enlargement of the sterling area, the linking of the rupee to sterling for a period sufficiently long, spread over both depression and boom in a trade cycle, might give rise to some difficulties. For example, if sterling now begins to appreciate in terms of commodities and services, we shall have to deflate our currency in order to maintain our exchange rate, even though we may be passing through a depression at the time. On the other hand, if sterling depreciates during a period when there is a boom in India, she would have to follow sterling prices to whatever height the latter might go or in the alternative, she would have to raise her rate of exchange. It is conceivable that neither of these might be to India's advantage. But a study of the British monetary policy during the last five years shows that such fears are not of any practical importance, at least in the near future. Thus in April, 1937, when it was apprehended that trade recovery in India might be retarded by an appreciation of sterling to which the rupee had been linked, Mr. Chamberlain assured the House of Commons that the British Government had no intention of checking the rise in commodity prices in England by raising the value of sterling in terms of gold.

Bounty on Imports from England ?

Two arguments have been advanced by some critics who admit that the linking of the rupee to sterling was an evil necessity when the financial crisis broke out in September, 1931, but they are of opinion that "the fetish of stability in terms of sterling" has outlived its usefulness. Their argument is that this has given England a preference in Indian import trade. But it is not realised by such critics that linking or no linking, so long as sterling was depreciating in terms of gold, England would have this preference in our import trade as compared with gold standard countries. The case of Japan is an instance in point. India did not link her currency with the yen but Japan nevertheless enjoyed an advantage in her exports to India as well as to other countries.

Was Gold Export due to link with Sterling ?

The other argument is that the linking of the rupee in terms of sterling, has been responsible for gold export from India. As against this, it has been pointed out that even if we had not linked our currency to sterling but had merely been off gold, the yellow metal would have left the country. This is not wholly true. For, it must be recognised that the linking of the rupee with sterling, made it possible for gold to be exported, even if there was a very small margin between sterling and rupee prices of gold. Had there been no linking between the depreciated rupee and depreciated sterling, the margin should have been much wider, to cover the extra risks due to instability of the exchange rate. Thus the condemnation of the linking of the rupee to the sterling hinges on the validity of the contention that gold export was prejudicial to India's interest,—a question which must now be examined.



EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FILMS.

SHEIKH IPTEKHAR BASOOL.

THE main purpose of educational films is, and always will be, to get through the ambiguity of verbal description right to the thing in itself. In fact it is used as a window on the world. For this use it is helped by the fact that a 'real photograph' possesses, as no picture however accurate can possibly possess, a certain mental sense of reality. Over and above such accidental properties the very nature of the film, which demands selection and definite ordering of the material in time, allows us, by editing and pictorial composition, to super-impose on the 'reality' a formal structure of abstract relations ('above,' 'below,' 'before,' 'after,' etc). It is therefore possible to present certain facts and to marshal arguments without having recourse, in the first instance, to the spoken or written word.

The editing methods of Kulechhoff, Eisenstein, and Vertov, which have been criticised as over-intellectual, are of even greater importance to avoid the fact that a film, unlike a diagram, must have a definite beginning, middle, and end in time, and that is true of all its parts. Although a film produced by the usual methods, originates from a sequence of pictures or diagrams on celluloid, it is not in itself a sequence of pictures or diagrams, but a sequence of processes or events. These can only be seen in a predetermined order and each for only a limited and predetermined time.

To neglect this fundamental property of the film is to neglect the only way in which the film is superior to the blackboard. Even if current theories of film construction are regarded with suspicion, it must be remembered that these theories are based upon an actual fact, though they may be mistaken in interpretation. The very nature of the film forces some kind of 'constructive editing' on the director, and if this is left to look after itself the results are appalling. A large amount of wasted ingenuity has gone to the making of films which are of far less value than the diagram from which they have been prepared.

The difference between a diagram and a film is that the former is purely spatial, allowing only of what may be called a synoptic order, while a film must be temporal, allowing a very little spatial arrangement (by reason of the limits of the screen and of the time allowed for viewing it), but capable in a very high degree of order in time. The diagram is synoptic, a synthesis and therefore essentially static. The film is a selective sequence, a process, and therefore essentially kinetic. Only extreme familiarity can make it possible to view a film (or anything else, like a symphony, that has the formal structure of a film) synoptically. When this can be done, the subject is comprehended in a way impossible by any means other than intense application and powerful imagination. It is true that the last must be used in applying the knowledge obtained, but intense effort made in order to comprehend fundamentally simple arguments, like many in the 'higher' mathematics, is unjustified when it arises from the inadequacy of language to describe processes or abstractions.

It has been said above that the fundamental properties of the film allow us to super-impose on actually by selection, association, and contrast of senses, a logical argument not based on language. This is a unique power when employed on representational images, as photographs, but the non-representational applications are overlooked. A great deal of our

visual experience—and all visual experience is the field of the film,—is non-representational or semi-representational. Such, for instance, are the alphabet, maps, traffic signs, the signs of music, chemistry, and mathematics, the conventional signs and symbols of advertisements, and so on. The possibilities of typographical symbols have been recognised and applied by no artist nor educationalist, other than Leibniz.

The expression of argument without recourse to verbal language has been achieved in mathematical notation, but the signs of mathematics, though by no means arbitrary in the sense that shorthand symbols are arbitrary, are logical developments from arbitrary basic signs and symbols. Also, from the very nature of mathematics, they deal not with things, but with the abstract relations between things.

The existence of so highly developed a system together with the power inherent in the film, and the mental sense of reality of the photograph, suggest possibilities of which we have not yet touched the fringe. The abstract relations of mathematics might be translated into terms of processes to get over the difficulty that legitimate abstraction presents to students, and to provide a genuine comprehension of the problem as opposed to the knowledge of how to work it out. Again, the established signs of mathematics, and of other branches of knowledge, might be combined with representational images to form a method of visual argument far more powerful and less ambiguous than that shown in static applications such as 'pictorial essays.' Finally, the signs of mathematics might themselves be operated kinetically and pictorially. This is by no means a fantastic proposal, as the origins of the operational calculus and the theory of sets, to say nothing of the concepts of real and complex numbers, have shown. These last two possibilities are fascinating, but, as most users of educational films have more to do with instruction than with research, the method of using the film for straightforward mathematical instruction will be looked into more closely.

First it must be made clear that there is no *a priori* reason why an educational film should be projected in front of a class on a screen only. This will always be the usual way, but it is also possible for a student to run over a film by himself, in conjunction with a text-book, just as he might a drawing or gramophone record. This implies the existence of a small hand-viewer which, since it is not required for projection of a real image, can be made for a small sum. This should not be a fatal blow to a logical development of the educational film. The illumination would be either the reflected light of the room, or a pocket torch bulb. All that is required is a magnifier and the intermittent motion most of which are of mechanical complication, unnecessary for this job.

This goes to prove that there are gigantic possibilities in the educational film which have not yet been realised, let alone explored. If too much emphasis has been put on mathematics, it is only because this is a subject of great interest, and also one in which representation by visual means has reached a high standard after generations of evolution in practice. The film is a tool which makes it possible to use the same, or, if more vivid, methods in other fields. The photograph makes it possible to introduce some form of reality, but it should not be forgotten that the film is capable of reproducing any visual event, not merely the visual events of nature. It must also be remembered that the film is a process, not a diagram. If no mention has been made of colour, sound and stereoscopy, it is because these cannot change the fundamental nature of the film, they can only alter the tone of the processes. It is easy to quarrel with the montage experts, but at least they know what the film really is.

SHORTHAND YESTERDAY TODAY AND TOMORROW PITMAN'S SHORTHAND—A CENTENARY TRIBUTE

M. A. SUDHARAM

1887-1987: A glorious century of proud progress—that has been the history of the most popular and reliable system of Shorthand, the Pitman's Shorthand, the phonographic system invented by Sir Isaac Pitman. It is a rather painful fact that of the legion of young men who take up the study of Shorthand not, to reflect for the moment on the glorious ignorance of those who indent on the services of the shorthand scribe who, in many cases, are not even aware that there is, or can be, more than one system of shorthand, only a handful care to acquire a knowledge of the historical evolution and other interesting aspects of the art they practise. Perhaps the occasion of a Centenary might excuse a few reflections on the subject as a sincere tribute from a humble practitioner. And what could be a better medium to record it than the Newspaper which undoubtedly has stood to gain the most by the art. Able hands have paid warm tributes to the genius of Pitman's system but I venture to point out that every story might have as many view-points as a star, each point conveying the same message in its own way to different individuals, so that the story lost nothing by repetition.

In tracing the history of shorthand one has to take as a starting point the age of the Hieroglyphics of early Egypt which followed the age of the rough pictures, drawings or diagrams. Many a writer has suggested that in a sense Hieroglyphics constituted what was a system of shorthand compared with the clumsy picture writing out of which they grew. The picture represented something actual, something concrete; the hieroglyph something abstract—an Idea. By grouping a number of these Hieroglyphics together it was possible to suggest a sequence of ideas and in this way to record and communicate thought—the idea for which the sign stood. But it was not writing as it is understood to-day. Each sign represented some idea. They did not represent words. They were related to words only so far as spoken words might be associated with the ideas for which the signs stood.

The next great advances were made first, when symbols which were evolved from the Hieroglyphic signs were devised to represent the syllables of words, and later when the individual signs of which words are composed came to be represented by separate characters or letters. This, the greatest advance in the history of speech recording up to the appearance of Pitman's Shorthand took place about 5000 years ago. It was then that writing in the true sense of the word—that is to say, alphabetic writing—began. That alphabet evolved in Ancient Egypt three thousand years before the time of Christ, is the ancestor of the A.B.C. alphabet.

All the authorities I have consulted agree that abbreviated systems of writing were practised in Ancient Rome and Greece more than two thousand years ago but so imperfect were the systems that thousands of word signs had to be committed to memory. It is certain that a kind of shorthand was in vogue among the Romans and it is recorded of Tiro, a slave in the service of Cicero, that his quick writing so pleased the great man

that the slave was made a freeman. It cannot be urged that the Romans used Shorthand as we know it today; theirs was simply an abbreviated form of longhand.

In England, the first system of any consequence was called *Character*; "The Art of Short, Swift and Secret Writing by Character." And the inventor was Dr. Timothy Bright. It was published in 1588 and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. Our mutual friend William Shakespeare, it is recorded, was 24 years old at the time Timothy Bright's system was published and it is an oft-debated question whether some of the inaccuracies in the plays were or were not the result of bad shorthand transcripts. Two other systems of shorthand are often mentioned because of their literary associations: one invented by Thomas Shelton, and the other by John Angell. It is said that because Shelton was a Cambridge man, his system found considerable favour and was used largely at the Cambridge University, which perhaps may be taken as an uncommon refutation of the proverb that "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country."

This system has a strong claim to remembrance, in that it is the system by which Pepys wrote his diary. A question is sometimes raised whether the diary would have been written at all if Pepys had not known Shorthand. Certainly the person who transcribed the notes of the diary, whatever his name, deserves a whole page in the world's book of memory.

Angell's system was published in 1738 and this time Dr. Samuel Johnson was interested in it, and I believe practised it. Yet another system was invented by John Byrom, in whose favour an Act of Parliament was actually passed securing to him (in 1742) "the sole right of publishing and teaching the method of shorthand invented by him." We learn that among his pupils were Horace Walpole and Gibbon the Historian. There was also one Lord Chesterfield among his pupils. One wondered whether that was the Lord who wrote those interminable letters to his unfortunate son that so many of us have looked at and so few had read. If so, I am afraid that Lord Chesterfield must have been one of those who suffered from over-indulgence in the fruits of stenography. John Byrom was an M.A. of the Cambridge University, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and author of a few volumes of verse and other works.

Two more modern systems of shorthand are the Gurney system, produced by Thomas Gurney in 1790, and that of Samuel Taylor first published in 1786. Gurney was the first Shorthand writer to be appointed to the Old Bailey—the Great Criminal Court in London—and later to the Houses of Parliament. I have read that this parliamentary appointment has remained in the hands of his descendants ever since, though we are told that the present Gurney staff are all practically Pitman writers. I have also read that Charles Dickens was a Gurney writer. Reference is at times made to the system called Mason's, published in 1682 of which it may be said that Sir Isaac Pitman himself said that it was superior to any that had preceded it. It is interesting to note that as early as 1780 the Morning Chronicle organized a corps of reporters, from which time stenography was studied for professional purposes.

Taylor's system was in use when Isaac Pitman was a boy. It was Harding's version of Taylor's system that he learned first and practised until he invented his own. Sir Isaac Pitman was born at Trowbridge in 1813, in humble surroundings, one of a family of eleven children, seven brothers and four sisters. His father, Samuel Pitman, a handloom weaver by trade and overseer in a cloth factory, was a man of sincere convictions

and generous sympathies and young Isaac must have inherited a large part of the parental characteristics. The education Isaac received was of a very meagre kind and all his future improvement was the direct result of his indefatigable exertions. Beginning life as a clerk in a cloth factory he was soon after trained for the teacher's profession. A man of strong religious convictions, his services were dispensed with by his employers owing to certain differences of opinion. He started then a school of his own in 1837 and one of the subjects he taught was Shorthand, the system being that of Taylor. It appears however that Taylor's system soon failed to satisfy him and he conceived the idea of making it available in a more concise form at a much lower cost. It may be interesting to note that the first edition of Taylor was published at a guinea; Gurney was sold at half a guinea. He set to work and prepared a small book which he sent to Mr. Bagster, a well-known publisher of his early acquaintance. Fortunately—I use the word designedly—Mr. Bagster showed it to a reporter in order to get his opinion as to its merits. In returning the manuscript the reporter said: "The system Mr. Pitman has sent you is already in the market. If he will compile a new system, I think he will be more likely to succeed in his object to popularise shorthand; there will be novelty about it." This opinion was in due course communicated to the compiler who straightaway resolved to act upon the suggestion and after months of unceasing toil produced a complete manuscript copy of the first edition of the now famous Pitman system. It was forwarded to Mr. Bagster in November, and on the 27th of that month it modestly presented itself to the world in the form of a little four penny book, entitled, "Stenographic Sound-hand." It consisted of 12 pages, 9½ in. by 5 in., and contained two plates. Sir Isaac Pitman probably owed much of his success to his love of accuracy. He was not content to pass over any word the pronunciation of which he was not absolutely sure. It was the study of Walker's Dictionary, made at about the age of seventeen, especially the Introduction to the Dictionary, that determined the literary bent of his subsequent life. "He there saw for the first time a scientific classification of the sounds of the language, and their relations to each other. There too, he more clearly discovered the defects and redundancies of the common alphabet, and the glaring inconsistencies and absurdities of the current orthography on which he was destined in after years to make so determined an onslaught." The Phonographic Teacher published in 1864 (11th Edition) contains a very uncommon foreword written by one Henry Sutton. He says:

"Our living flocks of thoughts need no longer trodge it slowly and wearily down the pen and along the paper, hindering each other as they struggle through the strait gate of the old handwriting. Our troops of feelings need no more crawl as snails crawl to their station on the page; regiment after regiment may now trot briskly forward, to fill paragraph after paragraph: and writing, once a trouble, is now at breathing-ease. Our kind and living thoughts, warm and transparent, liquid as melted from the hot heart, shall no longer grow opaque and freeze with a tedious dribbling from the pen; but the whole soul may now pour itself forth in a sweet shower of words. Phototype and phonography will be of a use in the world not dreamed of, but by a few. Aye, and shake your heads as ye will, they will uproot the old spelling; they will yet triumph over the absurdities of the dead age."

Whoever Mr. Sutton was, he was indeed a prophet. I wonder, did even "the few" of whom he writes, ever visualise the writing of their cherished Phonography at over 300 words a minute? I doubt

if even the greatest enthusiast of them all ever dreamed that a woman's hand would wield the pen in a wild sweep almost awe-inspiring in the highest speed ever achieved in Shorthand at any time.

In studying the history of Shorthand from 1588 one is struck by the permanence of Phonography. Yet it is not altogether surprising because the system has a definite and scientific basis. By permanence, I do not mean changelessness, for we know from the 15th November, 1837 when the first edition of the system was made available to the public right up to his retirement Isaac Pitman was always seeking to improve it. So infectious had been his enthusiasm that even after he had withdrawn from the arena there were not lacking those whose brains and abilities were available to carry on the work to better it almost 'every day in every way' and so keep pace with the demand for more and more rapid shorthand writing which the increasing use of the Typewriter necessitated. Successful editions were issued embodying the improvements and alterations suggested by experienced writers. In 1887 the first International Shorthand Congress was held in London and was presided over by Lord Rosebery. "His address was a brilliant and masterly composition and eloquently enforced the importance of the cultivation of shorthand not only for professional and literary purposes but for the ordinary affairs of life." He inquired how, if by any autocratic power shorthand were to be suspended throughout the world for a week, the universe could possibly get on during the interval. He said, "In these days of rigid and anxious competition in commercial matters we must make it understood by all growing lads that a knowledge of shorthand is indispensable to a mercantile career, and we must also bring this fact home to all who aspire to secretarial and clerical posts." In the succeeding years the national importance of Pitman's invention and its potentialities had come to be appreciated to such an extent that in 1894 on the recommendation of Lord Rosebery the late Queen Victoria conferred on him the honour of Knighthood. The news of his death in 1897 evoked profound sorrow throughout the phonographic world and the world at large.

What about other present-day systems of shorthand? Do they meet any need that Pitman's cannot equally or better satisfy? I think not. In England alone during a period of 235 years preceding the invention of Phonography, no less than 201 systems were published and since then nearly 300 more have been put on the market. Lord Rosebery who presided at the International Shorthand Congress in London declared that it was almost a relief to feel that one was utterly ignorant of each and all of these methods. As one authority on the subject of modern times says: "The knowledge so hastily acquired of certain non-Pitmanic systems can hardly be perfect and is liable to collapse when put to test under rigorous conditions.....Pitman's Shorthand on the other hand is built up on a scientific basis, and is, therefore, a sound and enduring edifice that can brave any atmospheric pressure."

It would appear from a study of the history of shorthand that it was never in the past, as it was in India at the present day, confined to a particular profession. And yet in India in the year of grace 1937 it still remained the close preserve of a limited profession who found themselves compelled because of their limited number to attain a comprehensive acquaintance with the whole range of human knowledge which, of course, would be quite unnecessary except to a few reporters. It really was, as remarked by Sir Charles Toddhunter, "as if they made arithmetic a water-tight profession and required every scientist, commercial man, teacher, tailor, soldier, apothecary,

cary or thief to send for an arithmetician whenever he wanted to do a sum."

And what about the Shorthand of tomorrow? Parents sometimes ask: "Is it not waste of money to have our children taught Shorthand now, since mechanical inventions threaten to destroy its usefulness?" I can do no better than quote a message from the late Mr. J. Hynes expressing his opinion on the subject.

"I do not hesitate to prophesy that when the vast majority of the present generation have left this world and have begun to study astronomy beyond the stars, Pitman's Shorthand will be taught and learned and practised notwithstanding the introduction of mechanical methods of recording the spoken word at considerable speed. The mechanical shorthand writer is a wonderful contrivance; but you will see that it is useless without the human operator.....I have very little fear of the introduction of these machines. They are machines, and I suppose that the perfect machine of any kind has yet to be invented. Well, there is my prophesy, and I think you will agree with it."

It is the concluding sentences that interest me. "They are machines and I suppose that the perfect machine of any kind has yet to be invented..." Even if such inventions should come about, there is safety in the fact that few would care to have their statements taken down straight off without an opportunity to unsee and wipe out part of what had already been dictated. Most of those who have occasion for dictation to stenographers are in many cases awful examples, what with their ungrammatical English, split infinitives and other vagaries of style, varieties of accent, humming and hesitations, etc. While a stenographer might accept corrections and agree to cover up errors and not unoften even better the original, the machine will admit neither excuse nor correction and expose both original error and subsequent correction in a manner not always to the credit or advantage of the boastful dictator.

There was bound to come in the more distant future a time when the world would be swallowed up in an infinite ocean of universal shorthand. And when this time came it would be truly said of the association of the practitioners of the art in Shakespeare's words that "nothing in its life became it like the leaving of it."

At Home and Abroad

Irish Free State and Italy

Mr. De Valera's Government recognises the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, but not General Franco's Government in Spain, according to replies recently given in the Dail by Mr. De Valera.

Italy and League

Signor Mussolini announced that Italy was leaving the League of Nations. The announcement was made from the balcony of Palazzo Venezia to a cheering crowd of 100,000.

It is argued that Italy is leaving the League to unite herself more closely with Germany and Japan, and that Signor Mussolini is possibly thinking of a new grouping of nations of which the Anti-Communist Pact will be the nucleus. Many Italians foresee a new order in the Danube Valley.

Naval Expansion in Europe

By 1941, the German fleet will have increased by 25 per cent., the British fleet by 33 per cent., the Italian fleet by 80 per cent. and the French by only 6 per cent.

These figures are reached by the Rapporteur of French Estimates which the Chamber will discuss in the next few days.

The rapporteur points out that while the French Army Estimates for 1938 are 1170 million francs higher than those of 1937 and the Air Estimates are 810 million francs higher, the Naval Estimates are 189 million francs lower.

The British Admiralty's announcement that the new construction for 1937-39 will amount to 231,000 tons or six times more than the previous years is emphasised by the rapporteur.

Provisional Govt. for China

The creation of a new provisional Government of Chinese Republic at Peking to replace the Nanking Government is described in a proclamation read at Peking.

It states that the new administration aims, firstly, at the abolition of one party politics; secondly, absolute resistance against communism; thirdly, promotion of friendly relations with neighbouring countries for the furtherance of East Asiatic moral doctrines and fourthly, the development of industries.

East Hopei autonomous Government is reported to have decided to join the new Government while Shanai Honan and North Shantung autonomous governments are expected to participate in the near future.

In addition, it is forecast, the administration in future will extend its influence to the whole of North China and possibly Yanste area.

The Provisional Government of the Republic of China with Peiping renamed as Peking as capital was inaugurated at Peking. The five colour flag, which is old national flag of the Republic has replaced the flag of the Nanking Government.

China's New Constitution

It is stated in well-informed quarters that the constitution of a new Government in Republican China does not modify Germany's relations with Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek whom Germany continue to regard as the sole legal Government in China.

It is added that Germany will continue to be represented with the Government of Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek by Doctor Trautmann.

British protest to Japan

Mr. Eden in the House of Commons disclosed the terms of the note of protest which, the British Government sent to Japan against the attack on British Shipping at Nanking.

The Japanese were asked to take very stringent measures that there might be no recurrence of these incidents.

The note did not refer to the Emperor of Japan but the question of compensation for damage and punishment of offenders was raised.

Japan's apologies to Britain

The Japanese Ambassador visited Mr. Anthony Eden and offered apologies for the recent attacks on British Warships in the Yangtze. The Ambassador indicated that the Japanese Government was not yet fully in the possession of facts but was actively pressing enquiries.

German protest

The German Foreign Office has lodged a complaint with the Japanese Embassy in Berlin about the continuous attacks by Japanese artillery on 11th December, on the British Steamer "Wangtu" which had aboard her the office of the German Embassy in China.

There were no casualties, but subsequently, the members of the German Embassy were transferred to a British Gunboat. The British Military Attache who was also on the Wangtu immediately protested to the Japanese Military authorities.

Italy to take no Specific Action

It is learned in authoritative circles that Italy will not protest to Japan regarding the death of the Italian Journalist Sandro Sandri who was a victim in the sinking of the "Pansy."

The Italians consider it a matter for the Americans to protest. It is argued however that mistakes of the kind which caused the death of Sandri are inevitable in war and are due to the fact of foreign ships passing through the belligerent zone.

America's Formal Note of Protest

The United States has presented a formal note to Japan protesting against the bombing of "Panay" and demanding complete and comprehensive indemnification.

The note also vigorously protests against the sinking of the three American commercial vessels and calls attention to the several occasions in the past when the Japanese "have violated the rights of the United States."

The note adds that in the present case, the acts of the Japanese armed forces were in complete disregard of American rights. The United States expects a formal expression of regret and complete and comprehensive indemnification and an assurance that definite and specific steps will be taken to ensure that the American nationals interests and property in China will not be subjected to attack or unlawful interference by the Japanese.

Japanese Note to U. S. A.

The text of the Japanese note to the United States expressing apologies for the bombing of the "Panay" and of the Standard Oil Company's vessels, states that, owing to poor visibility, the Japanese aircraft were unable to discern any marks on the vessels to show that they were American or other warships, and consequently the vessels were mistaken for Chinese vessels carrying fleeing Chinese troops.

The Note promises, in addition to indemnifications, to deal appropriately with those who were responsible for the incident and adds that instructions have been issued to prevent a repetition of the incident.

The note further expresses the fervent hope that the very friendly relations between Japan and the United States will not be affected by this unfortunate affair.

Japanese Naval Spokesman's Statement

"Although the Japanese authorities will take all the necessary steps to prevent the recurrence of such unfortunate incidents as the bombing of 'Panay' the most practical method for forestalling such incidents will be the removal of foreign vessels from the zone of hostilities on the Yangtse."

The foregoing statement has been issued by a Japanese Naval Spokesman to correct the wrong impression that the Japanese authorities had actually approached third powers suggesting that they should move their ships from the Yangtse.

Admiral Yarell in a statement says that the vessels of the United States Navy now in Chinese waters will remain there for the protection of the United States Nationals as long as such necessity exists.

Joint Defence Against Comintern

Well-informed Japanese circles believe Japan intends to establish a new administration for the whole of China, not merely North China as first expected.

The main points of the new administration will be joint defence against the Comintern with Japan, Manchukuo and other countries hostile thereto, co-operation in economic and other spheres with Japan and Manchukuo and revival of Confucianism. The pursuance of these aims will be preceded by supersession of the Chiang Kai-Shek administration and the disbandment of Kuomintang.

The Peace Maintenance Commission of Tientsin has obnoxiousised the authorities all over China accusing Nanking of misadministration and co-operation with Communists.

The Peace Maintenance Commission of Peiping has decided to control all Universities and schools. All Anti-Japanese propaganda will be expunged from school books. Japanese will be given preference among foreign languages.



News and Views.

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Cultural Atlas of India.

A provisional plan of a cultural atlas of India has been, it is understood, placed before the Indian Research Institute by Prof. Otto Stein, professor of Indology, University of Prague (Czechoslovakia). The Institute has appointed a sub-committee to consider it.

According to the plan efforts are to be made to collect through a central organisation materials for a systematic historical representation of Indian culture by photographs as far as can be gathered from monuments, sculptures, bronzes, paintings, miniatures and the like.

The subjects to be included in it should be both profane and religious buildings, Indian life in society, private life, state and religious community, houses, fortresses, pictures of towns, household furniture, food, dress, ornaments, agriculture, utensils, conveyances, weapons of men and animals in war-time, war-like marchings out, festivals, scenes of civic life, school scenes, writing utensils, dance, music, theatre handicrafts, temples, caves, abodes of monks, deities, sacrifices, implements, ascetic life, death, and burial-scenes.

The Professor further says that each subject has to be reproduced by photograph and within each chapter of the proposed atlas the historical evolution has to be observed. Each picture should have indications of the represented subject, its finding-place, present place of conservation, date of discovery, and other necessary details.

City Primary Schools.

A proposal for imparting education through films instead of through magic lanterns to the general public as well as to the pupils of their Free Primary Schools, is, it is understood, receiving the attention of the Corporation of Calcutta.

So far as the pupils of the Primary Schools are concerned, it is stated, that according to the modern advanced methods of imparting education, visual instruction is "more or less dead" and as such visual instruction if at all to be given, should be through films and not through slides; for in that case it would be more attractive.

Public Indifference.

The general public have figured in the proposal because the Corporation authorities feel that the public are not sufficiently conscious even to take advantage of the facilities offered to them for free Primary education of

their wards. The Corporation authorities deplore that while they have as many as about 26 thousand pupils in the infant classes, they have only four thousand in the top classes namely class I. This the Corporation ascribe mainly to the indifference of the general public and to some extent to defects, if any, in their own method of teaching. Otherwise, it is argued, why should be so big a gap between the number of pupils reading in the infant classes and those reading in the top class?

It is, therefore, the intention of the Corporation to make the public more conscious about education by means of movie pictures on current topics. This method of creating public interest in education, the Corporation hope, would go a way long way in filling up the gap that at present exists between the number of students in the infant classes and those in the top class. Besides, the rooms where lectures through lantern slides are delivered, being not sufficiently spacious, become congested when pupils assemble there to attend those lectures thus creating a suffocating atmosphere in them. Secondly, the subjects on which such lectures are delivered are couched in high-flown language, generally unintelligible to the young learners, their vocabulary being confined more or less to five hundred to six hundred words. As a result no impression is left on their mind.

These difficulties, it is hoped by the Corporation, will be obviated if instruction is given through films instead of through slides.

In this connection it is further gathered that the Primary Education Committee is at present considering the question of purchasing film cameras for preparation of films necessary for this purpose.

Bhonsale Military School.

In response to a request for visiting the Bhonsale Military School His Excellency the Viceroy has conveyed to Dr. B. S. Moonje that should opportunity offer at some future date it would give him pleasure to pay a visit to it and that he would be glad to send a message of good wishes on the occasion of the formal opening of the school.

Cambridge Union.

News has been received that Mr. Surendra Mohan Kumaramangalam, son of Dr. Subbarayan, Education Minister, who is pursuing his studies in Cambridge has been elected Secretary of the Cambridge University Union.

Medical College for Dacca.

At a meeting of the Executive Council of Dacca University a scheme was drawn up for the conversion of the Dacca Medical School into a College, teaching up to the M.B. standard.

According to the scheme, 75 students will be admitted every year, and the minimum qualification for admission will be the Intermediate Science examination with physics, chemistry, mathematics and biology in accordance with the revised syllabus of Calcutta University.

University for Ceylon.

The Ceylon University project passed a further milestone, the State Council sanctioning Rs. 5 lakhs for the acquisition of the site at Kandy.

Punjab University.

The degree of Doctor of Literature 'honoris causa' has been conferred upon Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of the Punjab, by the Punjab University at its Senate meeting held recently.

The Senate approved the recommendations of the Syndicate relating to the inclusion of Home Science as an alternative option for girls in the B. T. Examination.

Hindu University.

The twentieth annual convocation of the Benares Hindu University will be held on the 29th December next.

Annamalai University.

The Senate of the Annamalai University at its meeting held in March 1937 referred to the Syndicate for consideration and report a proposal to appoint a Committee to prepare a scheme for giving such practical training to students of the University as would equip them to start business on a small scale or absorb them in business organisations with a view to relieve middle class unemployment. The Syndicate which considered the matter carefully placed its report before the meeting of the Senate stating that it was not practicable to take any steps in the direction indicated. The meeting accepted the report of the Syndicate.

Mr. S. S. Bharadhar (Professor of Tamil) moved for the approval of the resolution by the Academic Council recommending to the Senate that one of the primary and definite objects of this University should be to give prominence to Tamil studies and to pay special attention and care to the development of Tamil language, literature and culture, which was carried.

University of Dacca.

Swami Akhilananda, President of Vedanta Centres, Providence and Philadelphia, U.S.A., has been invited by the University of Dacca to deliver a series of lectures in Jagannath and Lytton Halls.

Hindu University.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has wired to Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, that the Benares Hindu University have resolved to confer on the Maharaja of Cochin the honorary degree of Doctor of Law. The news has created great satisfaction in Cochin State.

Indian Historical Commission.

The Indian Historical Commission which was constituted by the Government of India in 1919 re-assembled at Lahore, on the 18th December, after seven years, their last meeting being held in 1930. The conference was opened by Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of the Punjab, who said that due to the work of the Commission the value of records had been enhanced.

The President of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, reviewing the past seven years' activities said that the one thing at which the Commission had been hammering since 1924 had been attained, namely, official records of the Peshwas in the Marathi language and many thousands of records and village accounts had been brought together in the alienation office at Poona and had been completely explored by Mr. G. S. Sardesai and selections from them running up to forty-five volumes had been printed by the Bombay Government—a monumental work accomplished despite incredible difficulties.

After the opening ceremony the Commission papers were read by members and delegates. Seven members of the Commission participated.

Doctorate for Gandhi.

The Nagpur University Court unanimously accepted the recommendation of the Academic Executive Council to confer the Degree of Doctor of Law (LL.D.) on Mahatma Gandhi, who has agreed to accept the honour.

The Court also decided to confer the same degree on His Excellency the Governor, Sir Hyde Gowan.

Mr. T. J. Kedar was declared elected Vice-Chancellor, securing 64 votes against Sir H. S. Gour's 47 votes. Sir H. S. Gour is the retiring Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University.

Miscellany

RACIAL ANALYSIS

In analysing physical characteristics of men we have to remember that almost every population includes contributions from several in-drifts that do not completely blend.

Homo sapiens, with contributions to his characteristics from diverse hominids in various areas, developed his main characteristics in the area of distribution of Chaleo-Acheulian, Aurignacian and Capsian cultures under temperate conditions, probably in N. Africa and S. W. Asia, including early extensions to India. Principal drifts probably include:—

(a) a drift S. and S. E. from the zone above-named, characterized by a short head of breadth 140-145 mm., and cephalic index therefore $80 \pm$, nose broad and short, mouth prominent, hair kinky, eyes prominent, stature short, frequent steatopygia in women;

(b) a drift chiefly S. and S. E. but also N. W. and eventually N. E., with very long head of breadth 140+ mm., and thus very low cephalic index (usually 73.5 or less), strong brow ridges and cheek bones in most cases, hair fundamentally wavy, but when these characters spread into regions with kinky hair, they may take on this character probably by inter-mixture. Stature moderate. Skeletal characters to some extent like those of Aurignacian men;

(c) a large drift in all directions with moderately long head of slightly greater breadth than the above, and cephalic index therefore usually 78.5—78.6. Hair as for (b). Stature moderate to short. Major drifts south of the great mountain zone of northern hemisphere, but later spreads northwards as ice sheets diminished, that to the N. W. (in Europe) becoming depigmented,

(d) a drift especially N., but to some extent also S. E. with cephalic index $80 \pm$ because the head is relatively short and has a breadth 150 \pm . Rounded head contours, broad short face in most cases, rather short nose of moderate breadth. Stature rather short. Specializations within (d) gives (d, 1) the men with high short heads and prominent noses, and cephalic index most often over 85, and (d, 2) the men with flat-topped broad heads and cephalic index 85+ and often sunken noses. Arguments can be given for origins of these characters on N. side of the supposed original *H. sapiens* zone above-mentioned;

(e) What is possibly a special modification of (b) above—a drift out from the steppe in the 'Bronze Age' as dry warmth developed. Very long narrow heads with cephalic indices usually below 73.5 but long narrow faces and prominent narrow noses giving a strong profile perhaps linked but with general growth in length.

It seems highly probable that Mendelian inheritance occurs widely, and this provides an explanation of the undoubted fact of the persistence of these types side by side in a population. It is useful to attempt to analyze samples in the light of the above list of drifts, but dangerous to plead for

them as universal standards of reference because they are only inferences and need checking and adjustment. The only safe way is to study the bundling of physical characters in individuals and to see what are the more general bundlings in particular populations. Examples will be given and discussed.—From the paper by Prof. H. J. Pleure (Manchester) to the Indian Science Congress in joint session with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Calcutta, 1938.

BENGY KUMAR SARKAR.

INTER-CASTE DIFFERENCES IN BLOOD-GROUP DISTRIBUTION IN BENGAL.

Blood group data were taken at Budge Budge, District 24-Parganas, from over 500 Bengalis. The caste and birth-place of each person was recorded. It was found that the percentages of A and B increase from the highest to the lowest castes. The Caste-Hindus have over 40% of O. The depressed Classes show 42.7% of B, which is the highest value for B yet discovered. All groups show the characteristic Indian condition of more B than A. The blood group proportions of the Bengali Mahomedans resemble those of all the local low caste Hindus taken together. This demonstrates that they are descended from local Bengali Hindu converts. There is less difference in blood group distribution between the highest and the lowest castes in Bengal than between high castes and untouchables in Cochin. The reduced Coefficients of Racial Likeness agree with the evidence of blood group data for the Bengali Brahmins, Kayasthas and Poda, also for Nairs and Iluvas of Cochin. The fact that the Poda and Iluvas show an association by the C. R. L. and no resemblance in blood group distributions may be significant in relation to racial migrations and the time of origin of the B mutation in India.—

From the paper by Dr. E. W. E. Macfarlane (Calcutta) to the Indian Science Congress in joint session with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Calcutta, 1938.

BENGY KUMAR SARKAR.

AFFECTIVE INFLUENCES IN MENTAL FATIGUE

In the isolated striated muscle fatigue is ascribed: (a) to the exhaustion of intra-cellular material essential for its contractility, (b) to the accumulation of the toxic products of its activity. But in the intact living organism such muscle is largely safeguarded initially from (a) and (b) by inhibitory, afferent impulses mainly reflex and proprioceptive.

Is it not therefore likely that the observed effects of prolonged mental activity are due initially not so much to fatigue in the corresponding senses of (a) or (b) as to the protective actions of affective mental processes? It is recognized that instinctive activities are maintained by various emotional affects: anger, for example, prevents any other conative process from interfering with combat. So too, voluntary attention, essential for conscious intellectual activity, is maintained by the affective factor of interest, spontaneous or enforced. With prolonged attention, the feelings, first, of boredom, later of weariness, replace the feeling of interest. It is

suggested that each of the two former exercises an inhibitory function on attention, protecting it against iron fatigue. These different inhibitions may conceivably spread so as to terminate the previously successful repression from consciousness of conflicting 'complexes' and to arouse, consequently, feelings of irritation, worry and anxiety, all preventive of the normal exercise of attention and leading to disorderly and uncoordinated mental and outward behaviour.—From the paper by Prof. C. S. Myers (London) to the Indian Science Congress in joint session with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Calcutta, 1938.

BHROY KUMAR SARKAR

EXAMINATION OF 'INTELLIGENCE'

The original and still current theory of ability is based on the concept of 'faculties.' The only other wide spread alternative is the comparatively modern theory of 'types'. Both suffer from two fatal defects; one is their extraordinary lack of definite meaning; the other is their failure to fulfil the primary scientific requirement, that of generality. For the most part, the examinations have to contend with many further grave deficiencies; amongst other things, success is apt to depend unduly on the hap of previous experience, on the language employed, and on an obscure mixture of other influences. All these faults can be more or less eliminated by means of the new theory of 'factors.'

Of these by far the most important is the one called by the letter "G", which enters into all abilities whatever. It is the principal constituent, and only stable one, in all conceptions or measurements of 'intelligence.'

The other chief cognitive factors are those designated as V, M, F, P, O.

To all these constituents of cognitive ability there must be added W, which governs their employment. These seven factors certainly do not exhaust the whole 'personality,' or even the whole of what may conceivably be entitled 'intelligence.' But they do go a long way towards doing so. In particular, several of them (including G) admit of valid comparisons between nationalities and races, that speak different languages.—From the paper by Prof. C. E. Spearman (London) to the Indian Science Congress in joint session with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Calcutta, 1938.

BHROY KUMAR SARKAR

CULTURE-SOCIOLOGY VS. ANALYTICAL OR FORMAL SOCIOLOGY

The sciences of law, constitution, politics and economics are very lucky in regard to the questions bearing on scope and methodology. There is no dispute about the categories and contents of these disciplines. But in the unfortunate science of sociology nobody has yet been able to establish its provinces or boundaries. At the present moment we have virtually as many sociologies or "types" of sociology as there are sociologists. It is an intensely pluralistic world that we witness in the domain of sociological literature.

In *Qu'est-ce que l'Esprit Français* (Paris, 1930) Bouglé and Gastinel have tried to define the spirit of France. They have offered twenty-five different definitions as furnished by French thinkers from Montesquieu, Mme de Staël, and Michelet to Croiset, Boutroux and Bergson. Perhaps it is

possible to offer more. Anybody who tries to define *Hinduism*, the Hindu spirit or Hinduism will not come forward with numerically fewer and contentually less varied definitions.

The diversity of definitions has marked in recent years likewise the concept of *Maharashtra-dharma* in Ramdas's cult of *Maharashtra-dharma bhakties* (Propagate the dharma of Maharashtra as inculcated to Sambhaji towards the end of the seventeenth century.¹ In philosophical and metaphysical fields may be mentioned the doctrine of Buddhist *Nirodha* as a category that is the theme of varied interpretations in modern scholarship.²

But perhaps nowhere do we find a greater multiplicity than in the definitions of sociology.³

The province as well as the boundaries of sociology have shifted with every body who has called himself or has been described by others as sociologist. In the interest of clarification of ideas a radical and extremist attitude has appeared in the post-war years especially in the writings of the German sociologist, Leopold von Wiese (*System der Allgemeinen Soziologie*, Munich, 1933).

Sociology is of course much too popular a category in present-day world-culture. And certainly it is perhaps the oldest human science, theoretical and applied. Its origins are to be traced back to the beginnings of human life. All the eponymous heroes of mankind, the "Manus" of all races, the inventors of the arts and techniques, the pioneers of emigration, colonization and race-mixing, the initiators of city, towns, marriage customs, etc., in pre-historic ages were all constructive or applied sociologists by all means, nay, contributors to the theory of social progress as well. But it is very interesting that the category was unknown until 1812, when Comte used it in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, Vol. IV. Up till then he had been using in stead the category "*physique sociale*" (social physics). But in view of the fact that the Belgian statistician Quetelet employed it to describe the researches in anthropology and demography Comte considered it prudent to replace it by a new word, "sociology."

But since Comte's days the subject matter of sociology has changed so much and so often with researchers that to day it is almost impossible to describe what this discipline is and what this is not. For instance, the "classical sociologists," Comte, Spencer and Schaeffle, three of the founders of this science, however much they differ in methods and messages belong to what the Italian sociologist, Carli, in *Le Teorie Sociologiche* (Padua, 1925) calls the historical-encyclopedic school. They seek to explain history, point out the processes of evolution, and suggest the future lines of advance. On the other hand, the founders of "new sociology," Tonnies, Tarde,

¹ See the present author's "Political Philosophy of Ramadas the Guru of Shivaji the Great" in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1935; G. S. Sardesai: *The Main Currents of Marathi History* (Bombay, 1933), pp. 12, 63.

² L. de la Vallée Poussin: *Nirodha* (Paris, 1925); H. von Glasenapp: *Buddha und Buddha* (Berlin, 1925); T. Stcherbatsky: *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* (Leningrad, 1927); N. Datta: *Mahayana Buddhism in relation to Hinayana* (London, 1930).

³ F. Hankin's Chapter on Sociology in *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1935), edited by H. Betancourt; E. S. Bergson: *Contemporary Sociology* (Los Angeles, 1935); L. L. Bryman: *The Fields and Methods of Sociology* (New York, 1934).

Durkheim and Simmel, for example, among the continentals are interested in the analysis of forces, facts, groups and relations. The American and British sociologists like Small, Ross, MacDougall, Wallas, Cooley, Ellwood, etc., belong to this class which is generally known as the school of "analytical" or "formal" sociology. The first or the classical type may also be aptly described as culture-sociology.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE NEW PLAN IN GERMAN FOREIGN TRADE (1934-1937).

As is well-known, the two basic ideas of the "New Plan," the main element in German foreign trade since September 1934, are:

1. To purchase no more abroad than can be paid for out of the foreign exchange proceeds of German exports.
2. To regulate German imports according to national requirements.

The most important results of the "New Plan" in its three years' existence have been as follows:

1. An active balance for foreign trade as a whole, and a reduction of active and passive balances in trade with individual countries or groups of countries.
2. A considerable shifting in the importance of individual countries or groups of countries in German foreign trade.

The extent and direction of foreign trade are always the result of a number of different factors, the most significant of which are:

1. The structure of the individual economies, the different production possibilities and real production costs as well as the different requirements resulting therefrom.
2. The cyclical developments in the individual countries including the fluctuations of the domestic value of money, which usually accompany such developments.
3. The external currency policy of the countries concerned.
4. The form of credit relations between the countries.

5. The influences of trade policy. Such influences include the old instruments of trade policy in the narrower sense (trade treaties, tariffs, quotas, import and export prohibitions, etc.) as well as methods introduced since the last depression which also subject commodity trade to an extensive foreign exchange control. If the foreign exchange control of commodity trade is not limited to equal distribution of foreign exchange for import requirements, but is extended to a special treatment of individual cases, it then represents the greatest possible control of trade.

Due to the relation between these and other, less basic factors, which in their influence on foreign trade partly nullify each other and partly overlap, it is extremely difficult to determine exactly the extent of the influence of any one factor on the basis of actual development. However, it can be said on the whole that the changes which have occurred in the structure of German foreign trade since 1929 have been influenced mostly by measures of trade policy.

The "New Plan" which controls German foreign trade has been in effect now for three years and after a certain transition period it began to

exert its full influence. Naturally, its influence on the extent and direction of German foreign trade can only be judged correctly by considering at the same time the trade policy of the countries dealing with Germany.

In 1929, which as the last pre-depression year is considered by many as the "normal year," imports and exports just about balanced. At that time the large passive items in the German balance of payment were still being covered by capital imports. In 1931, under the pressure of the credit crisis the extraordinarily large export surplus of 2.0 billion RM was realized in commodity trade. This balance, as is well-known, served the transfer of the extensive withdrawals of foreign capital. In 1932, the active balance was still about 1.1 million RM and in 1933 there was an active balance of 670 million RM. Then in 1934, the year of transition there was a passive balance of 2.4 million RM. In view of the structure of Germany's balance of payments this development naturally caused a great deal of worry. The foreign exchange quotas for imports, which were in effect until the beginning of the "New Plan," were not sufficient to make up for the fall in German exports due to the economic situation, the currency policy and the high protective tariffs of the purchasing countries. Another factor in the failure of the quota system to adjust imports to exports was that imports were paid to a great extent from the Reichsmark-Special accounts which were established by the provisions of the so-called "Sweden Clause Treaties." This led to an ever-increasing German indebtedness for commodity imports.

The "New Plan" stopped this threatening development. In the first quarter of 1935 there was still a passive balance of about 150 million RM. But then the new regulation began to exert its full effect. In 1935 as a whole there was an active balance of 111 million RM and in 1936 active balance of 550 million RM. The change from a passive balance to an active balance was accomplished in two stages. At first the burden of adjustment was borne by imports. This was made necessary by the large claims on the German active balance in trade with European creditor countries for the transfer of interest and amortization on capital according to the provisions of clearing agreements which Germany found herself forced to sign. Later, despite many obstacles, German exports increased, thus bringing a rise in the active balance. In the current year, the active balance has been about the same. In the first nine months of 1937 the active balance was 311 million RM, as compared with 319 million RM. in the same period of 1936.—From a study by the *Institut fuer Konjunktur forschung* (Berlin).

HENRY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

'*Kant's Metaphysic of Experience*': By H. J. Paton, M.A., D.LITT. (Oxon.), Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow; some time Fellow of the Queen's College in the University of Oxford. Vols., I & II. (George, Allen and Unwin, Ltd.). Price 30s. net.

The volumes under review are intended to fill a void in British philosophical literature, viz., that of a commentary on Kant's great work such as will be true to the purpose of a commentary and will enable the reader to "see Kant through his own eyes." Though the two volumes together do not reach beyond the *Analytic of the First Critique* and so far leave the work unfinished, they yet make Kant's position sufficiently clear for the reader to pursue the texts further without the help of a commentary, "Of all the authors who write about Kant's great work," says the author, "there is none who condescends to explain it sentence by sentence." The result is a "welter of conflicting opinions" which is confusing both to student and teacher of Kant's philosophy. What is badly needed at the present day is a detailed commentary on Kant such as will be free from philosophical bias and will try to do justice to the real spirit of Kant's teachings. A commentator's business, says the author, "is to explain what the author has said, and not what he ought to have said"—a salutary rule which has not always been observed by the British interpreters of Kant's philosophy, notably by Edward Caird and Professor Prichard. Professor Paton hopes to keep clear of all philosophical bias in his exposition and to interpret Kant from Kant's own point of view as far as possible. That the learned Professor has been scrupulously loyal to his promise throughout his long commentary, the reader who patiently toils through the whole of the two volumes will unhesitatingly admit. He has not only made Kant's central position clear, but has also successfully explained many of the so-called obscurities and contradictions in Kant's texts. Says he, "I am far from claiming that Kant's doctrine is the final truth, but I am sure that it contains more truth than is commonly believed, and I suspect that it contains more truth than many modern philosophies." It may be said without fear of contradiction that the author has fully substantiated his contentions in the preface and that the reader who cares to go through the whole of the long commentary will find himself fully repaid for his arduous labours.

The great difficulty with the Kantian scholar is the obscurity of many of Kant's texts and the apparent contradictions between the doctrines of the different parts of Kant's philosophy. Interpreters of Kant have resorted to the "Patch-work Theory" as an easy solvent of these riddles of the *Critical Philosophy*. According to the present author, however, such devices are only unscholarly evasions of issues that demand serious tackling. Before one dismisses Kant's texts as unmeaning or contradictory, it is incumbent on one to prove that the so-called obscurity or contradiction is not due to one's own incompetence or laziness. Says the author, "on this matter the opinion of Kant himself is at least worthy of being examined. He fears that his attempt to solve the problem of Hume will meet with the same fate which.....greeted the original statement of it. It will be wrongly criticised because it is misunderstood; and it will be misunderstood because though people may be prepared to read the pages through, they will not take the trouble to think the thought through.".....

"Kant is willing to admit that some of the alleged difficulty and obscurity of his writing is due to defects of exposition, but he believes that it is mainly due to the novelty of his theories." Philosophers therefore "whose only philosophy is the history of philosophy" and who are incapable of thinking except in fixed grooves will be necessarily disappointed in Kant. But this no more justifies a charge of incoherence or contradiction than does a scientific discovery merit rejection for the mere fact of its novelty or incompatibility with accepted ideas. According to the author's view, the so-called inconsistencies in Kant's thought are more a consequence of superficial interpretation than an effect of inherent deficiencies. The clearest minds, the author very aptly points out, are not always the most profound or the most far-reaching, and philosophers who have revolutionised thought in every department of philosophy have seldom been known for the clarity which may be the special gift of a less adventurous spirit. "Clarity may be found in those thinkers, despised by Kant, whose philosophy is the history of philosophy," but it would be absurd to expect the same clearness of thought in a radical thinker and system-builder like Whitehead. The author admits with scholarly frankness that there is much even in the first half of the Critique which is still not quite clear to him, but very pertinently adds that as many passages which at first appeared obscure have, with further study, become clear, the same might prove to be the case with the rest as well. He further notes that with his growing insight into Kant's real views he is becoming increasingly convinced that the so-called difficulties of the Critical Philosophy are a result of misunderstanding of Kant's meaning and that "the prevailing view of Kant in England" does not do justice to him.

The author's differences from what he calls "the prevailing view" in his country are mainly the following:—

The author repudiates the view usually attributed to Kant "that Formal Logic gives us the forms of analytic judgments only." Against this view held by Caird, Prichard, Kemp Smith and others, the author asserts that "Kant never varies in his assertion that Formal Logic is concerned with the form of thought in general," i.e., with thought as thought, both analytic and synthetic, and that so far as for Kant thinking is judging, the forms of thought or judgment as given in Formal Logic give us the forms of all possible judgments, analytic as well as synthetic. The reader will find that the author has not only made good his assertion by chapter and verse quotations from Kant's texts but has also exposed the difficulties of interpretation that necessarily beset the other view.

The author also repudiates the suggestion that the subjective and objective deductions do not fit one into the other so as to form a consistent whole and should therefore be taken as substantiating the contention of the patch-work theory. The author refutes the suggestion by an elaborate defence of the two deductions showing not only that they are not unrelated lines of thought but that in their combination they form an integral viewpoint that furnishes the real clue to Kant's central position. The author's exposition of the two deductions is undoubtedly the most important part of the entire commentary and will appeal to all scholars as a genuine contribution to the right interpretation of Kant's philosophy.

While the reader who goes carefully through the two volumes will feel indebted to the author for rescuing Kant from many misunderstandings; it is also not unlikely that he will be inclined to disagree with him in some of places, especially where he allows his zeal for Kant to run to the extreme advocacy. The present reviewer, e.g., is unable to accept the author's

defence of Kant's view of dreams and illusions. That dreams are categorised appearances which appear not merely in space and time but also as substantial objects causally inter-related and so possessing the same type of objectivity as our waking experience is what common experience will seem to corroborate and yet the author will not admit dream-objectivity on the extraordinary ground that dreams are not in *objective* space and time. If this is not arguing in a circle it is difficult to say what else it is. That dreams conform to the character of our waking experience without blending with it will demand the recognition of incommensurable dimensions of objectivity as a necessary supplement to Kant's views, but the author prefers denying the obvious to admitting any flaw in Kant's arguments. What holds of dreams holds also *mutatis mutandis* of our illusory experiences and here also the author prefers a forced defence to acknowledging the obvious. "An idea in a dream," says he, "may in no way differ from a content apprehended in waking" (Vol. II, p. 207)....."but we refuse to regard it as an event in the objective world"....."because it does not fit into the necessary succession of contents which for us constitutes the objective world." This is no more than saying that dreams are not objective because they appear so to our waking experience and not because they appear so to our dreams as well or appear to lack any intrinsic character which specially distinguishes waking-experiences. If the constitutive principles of objectivity are present in waking as well as dream-experiences, the admission of incommensurable dimensions of objectivity seems to be a necessary corollary; but rather than admit a deficiency in Kant's thought the author merely repeats Kant's arguments. That dreams and illusions are subjective creations without any given foundation in experience is a view that neither commonsense nor psychology will endorse as agreeing with the actual evidence of experience.

Despite these and other minor points where the author may not have been able to carry the reader with him, his work is undoubtedly the very best on Kant that has appeared in English till now, and it will be no exaggeration to say that it will continue to be the only reliable and authoritative presentation of Kant's philosophy for many years to come.

S. K. MAITRA

Madhu-Kosha: [By Ratnambhar Dutta Chandola. Published by Sadhana Mandir, Dehra-Dun. Price Rs. 2].—A small collection of some of the beautiful poems of Mr. Ratnambhar Dutta Chandola has been brought out by the Sadhana Mandir of Dehra-Dun. Admirable sincerity and pathetic appeal are the key-notes of Mr. Chandola's poems. Personal reflections are conspicuously visible in 'Priti Visarjan' and 'Pariksha.' A true artist does necessarily make an effort not to reveal his personality in his art, but the overflowing sincerity and unrupt devotion seldom allow his efforts of self-suppression to succeed. 'Priti Visarjan' and 'Prem Viksha' are the glaring examples of the same. But it will not be fair to neglect occasions where the bemoaning self of the poet seems to soar high up into the region of philosophy and there learns the new lessons of visualising life and its incidents from an unbiased point of view; and as a result in 'Vikbuktase' and in 'Parivartana' we see the poet smiling with tears in his eyes,—of joy and not of former sorrow. The whole path of transformation is paved with remarkable order of natural succession. In matters of diction too the poet has displayed remarkable caution and culture.

L. SURUL

Ourselfes

I. Proposed Board of Secondary Education.—II. Our Distinguished Visitors.—III. Chinese Red Cross Committee's Appeal.—IV. Proposal for the Training of Guides.—V. Allahabad University celebrates its Golden Jubilee.—VI. The late Sir J. C. Bose's Donation to the University.—VII. Mr. C. C. Das's Gift to the University.—VIII. Training in Agriculture.—IX. Education Delegation.—X. Prabhoo Banga Sahitya Sammelan.—XI. The late Professor H. Mohan.—XII. Professor Demel's Lecture Tour in India.—XIII. Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan.—XIV. Proposed College at Ekstara.—XV. Conferences and University Representatives.—XVI. Indian Mathematical Society.—XVII. All-India Library Conference.—XVIII. Mr. Harold Butler's Visit to Calcutta.—XIX. Jap Risen Mukherjee Gold Medal.—XX. Professor J. N. Mukherjee.

I. PROPOSED BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The Senate at its meeting on Saturday, December 18, coincided with the opinion of the citizens of Calcutta in rejecting the revised Draft Bill forwarded by the Government of Bengal regarding the formation of a Board of Secondary Education.

It may be remembered that the original Draft Bill prepared by an officer of Government was forwarded to the University in February, 1937. The revised Bill reached the University on the 10th November last.

The Committee appointed by the Syndicate to consider and report on the Draft Bill was fully representative and comprised veteran educationists of the province. The views of the Committee were unanimous.

The Committee expressed doubts as to whether the Provincial Legislature is competent to promulgate legislation in respect of this University. After discussing some features of the present Bill, the Committee opined—"we fear that the Bill as drawn up is a reactionary measure and will retard the progress of education and place obstacles in the path of those who are anxious to serve its cause. In our opinion Government will be well advised to withdraw this Bill..."

In moving the adoption of the report by the Senate, Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas said that the University had never opposed the creation

of a Secondary Board but wanted "a body, academic in character and academic in outlook, which will not make Secondary Education the sport of party politics or communal jealousies..."

The Senate unanimously adopted the report of the Committee.

II. OUR DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

One of the highest distinctions that the University can offer is the Honorary Degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Law which will be conferred upon the following gentlemen, each of whom by reason of his eminent position and attainments is held in high estimation by scholars throughout the world:—

Professor Francis William Aston, M.A., Sc.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.I.C., F.R.S.

Professor Ernest Barker, Litt.D., D.Litt., LL.D.

Professor Arthur Henry Reginald Buller, D.Sc., Ph.D., LL.D. (Hon.), F.R.S.C., F.R.S.

Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington, Kt., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.

Professor Ronald Aylmer Fisher, Sc.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.S., F.R.S.

Sir William Searle Holdsworth, Kt., K.C., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

Sir James Hopwood Jeans, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.

Professor Charles Gustave Jung, M.D., LL.D.

Professor Charles Samuel Myers, C.B.E., M.A., M.D., Sc.D., D.Sc., F.L.S.

Professor W. Straub, M.D., D.Phil.

III. CHINESE RED CROSS COMMITTEE'S APPEAL.

The Red Cross Committee, Central China, have, in a communication addressed to this University, referred to the great interest taken by the young generation of China in the Colleges and Universities in India and elsewhere in the Empire and have solicited pecuniary assistance in the shape of donations from the students of this

University to help China in her hour of travail. It is hoped that the appeal will meet with a generous response.

* * *

IV. PROPOSAL FOR THE TRAINING OF GUIDES, ETC

This University has received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of U. P., forwarded by the Education Department, Bengal, to the effect that a limited number of young people may find employment as teachers of music, dancing, etc., and as tourists' guides. Accordingly arrangements for teaching the subjects have been recommended. We learn that the Government of Bengal may consider the question of rendering financial help if a centre is established for teaching the above-mentioned subjects.

* * *

V. ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY CELEBRATES ITS GOLDEN JUBILEE.

His Excellency Sir Harry Haig, Governor of the United Provinces, presided over the Convocation of the Allahabad University, in last December to celebrate its Golden Jubilee. A distinguished assembly including notable scholars, scientists, officials, and non-officials were present at the function.

Leading universities of the world had sent messages of good-will along with five former Chancellors of the Allahabad University, namely, Sir John Prescott Hewett, Lord Meston, Lord Hailey, Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir William Morris.

The following are extracts from some of the messages received by the Allahabad University on this occasion :—

The Azhar University, Cairo, wrote as follow :—

We do hope that during all your gatherings you will remember that you have a sister university at Cairo which will shortly complete 1,000 years of its academic life, and that it wishes you all Providential help and strength in all your acts, whereby you are striving to exalt the status of Science and are endeavouring to attain the heights of knowledge.

The message of the Calcutta University, given in Bengali, runs thus :—

On behalf of the University of Calcutta and the educated community of Bengal, we offer you our most cordial greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of your University.

With the memories of our glorious past in which many a chapter of our cultural history lies enshrined, we cannot forget that one day the great universities of India made valuable contributions to the learning and culture of the world.

The Indian Universities of to-day are steadily advancing towards that goal—the goal of spreading the light of learning and culture.

It may not be an idle dream that the East will once more succeed in dispelling the gloom which is fast closing in upon the West.

The fulfilment of this task will require the most arduous struggles on our part. Let this then be the goal of all our activities.

Your city is renowned in history as the confluence of three streams. May it once more be famous as the junction of the three sacred streams of Literature, Science and Fine Arts.

There is no higher ideal in the present times than extending the bounds of knowledge. May your future history shine brighter and brighter with the halo of this ideal.

The memory of the close connection of your province with the University of Calcutta at one time makes us feel all the more proud at your success and prosperity.

We pray fervently that your noble efforts for the advancement of learning be crowned with ever-increasing success.

Among other educational institutions from which messages of good-will were received, particular mention may be made of the following:—The University of Adelaide (South Australia), The Frederick William University of Berlin, the University of Berne (Switzerland), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston), the Hungarian University of Budapest, the London University, etc.

VI. THE LATE SIR J. C. BOSE'S DONATION TO THE UNIVERSITY.

The Press has published a list of the donations to various institutions made by the late Sir J. C. Bose, amounting to a total of Rs. 3,71,000.

Of this sum, one lakh in 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes, has been made over to this University in a letter Lady Bose has addressed to our Vice-Chancellor where she has stated the donor's object to be the promotion of psycho-physiological research by the establishment of one or more Research Fellowships.

The offer has been accepted with thanks. We congratulate Lady Bose on her public spirit and trust that others will follow her example.

VII. MR. C. C. DAS'S GIFT TO THE UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Chandicharan Das, Cartographer, has conveyed to the University his offer of the sum Rs. 5,000 as donation for the equipment of a Geographical Room.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks.

VIII. TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE.

We are informed that the Royal Calcutta Turf Club is prepared to lease to the University a plot of land measuring about 100 *bighas* known as the Barrackpore Demonstration Farm for a period of ten years, for the establishment of a centre for imparting training to young men in agriculture and allied subjects. The proposal of the Club has been accepted with thanks by this University. The necessary Deed is, we understand, being drawn up and it is hoped that it will take effect from the 1st March, 1938. A Committee has been appointed by the Syndicate to draw up a scheme for the proposed training.

IX. EDUCATION DELEGATION.

The International Delegation of the New Education Fellowship arrived in Calcutta on December, 22 and spent two days here during which it visited many schools in the city, besides meeting educationists of note. The Delegates stayed at Darjeeling during Christmas and were back in Calcutta in time to attend the All-India Educational Conference. They took part in the All-India New Education Fellowship Conference held at the Senate House, on December, 29.

X. PRABASI BANGA SAHITA SAMMELAN.

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who presided over the Arts Section of the Sammelan at its 15th session held at Patna on the

27th December, 1937, had been appointed to represent this University at the Conference.

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XI. THE LATE PROFESSOR H. MOLISCH.

Professor Hans Molisch whose researches on Plant Physiology made him an authority on the subject and whose chemical tests are recognised as most reliable by scientists, passed away in Vienna at the age of 83, early in December last.

Professor Molisch came to India in response to the invitation of the late Sir J. C. Bose, arriving in Calcutta in November, 1928 and stayed nearly the whole of the six months he was in this country at the Bose Institute and other branches of the late Sir J. C. Bose's laboratory. In 1929 he published his work in German entitled "A Naturalist in India" in which he recorded his enthusiastic appreciation of Indian Scientists and the value of their work.

* * *

XII. PROFESSOR DEMEL'S LECTURE TOUR IN INDIA.

Dr. Rudolf Demel, Professor of Surgery at the University of Vienna, is visiting India on a lecture-tour. On the recommendation of the Education Department, Bengal, our University has agreed to place at his disposal the facilities he requires for the success of his programme.

* * *

XIII. PROFESSOR SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

The Education Department of the Government of Bengal has officially conveyed its approval of the arrangement made by our University to grant leave of absence to Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt. M.A., D.Lit., George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, every year from June to January with effect from 1938 till 1942 in order to enable him to occupy the Chair of Eastern Religion and Ethics at the University of Oxford.

XIV. PROPOSED COLLEGE AT BHATPARA.

Affiliation for a second-grade College at Bhatpara, 24-Parganas, has been prayed for by the Secretary of its provisional Committee in Arts subjects only, with effect from the commencement of the next academic session.

XV. CONFERENCES AND UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES.

(i) ALL-INDIA FEDERATION OF EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (CAWNPOR),

The thirteenth session of the All-India Educational Conference was held in Calcutta from the 26th December to the 30th December, 1937. The following gentlemen were chosen by the University as its representatives to the Conference :—

- (1) Professor H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.
- (2) Rabindranaryan Ghosh, Esq., M.A.
- (3) Anathnath Bose, Esq., M.A., T.D., (Lond.)
- (4) S. P. Chatterjee, Esq., M.Sc., Ph.D. (Lond.), T.D. (Lond.), F.G.S.
- (5) Humayun Z. A. Kabir, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.).
- (6) Miss J. Dasgupta, M.A., B.T., Dip. in Ed. (Lond.).

(ii) IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis had been appointed by this University as delegate to the Second Meeting of the Crops and Soils wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry which was held at Lahore from the 6th to the 11th December, 1937.

XVI. INDIAN MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY.

The tenth Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society will be held at Lucknow under the auspices of the Lucknow University on the 15th, 16th and 17th March, 1938. This University, we learn, will send its delegates to the Conference.

XVII. ALL-INDIA LIBRARY CONFERENCE.

Dr. Nibar Ranjan Ray, University Librarian, was delegated to attend the Third Session of the All-India Library Conference and Second Statutory General Meeting of the Indian Library Association held at Delhi from the 24th to the 26th December, 1937.

* * *

XVIII. MR. HAROLD BUTLER'S VISIT TO CALCUTTA.

Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, and party arrived in Calcutta on the 17th December, 1937, for a short stay. He was invited to speak on various Labour problems with which India is confronted to-day. Mr. Butler was accompanied by Mr. Martin, Economic Expert of the Labour Office.

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XIX. JOY KISSEN MUKHERJEE GOLD MEDAL.

Sir James Jeans and Dr. Francis William Aston, Nobel Prize winner for Chemistry in 1929, to whom the award of the Joy Kissen Mukherjee Gold Medal had been made by the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science for 1936 and 1937 respectively, have decided to speak on "Origin of the Earth" and "Separation of Isotopes" in connexion with the award of the Medal. The lectures will be delivered during the forthcoming session of the Science Congress.

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XX. PROFESSOR J. N. MUKHERJEE.

We are glad to announce the appointment of Professor Janendranath Mukherjee, D.Sc., Guruprasad Singh Professor of Chemistry, as Ghosh Professor of Chemistry in this University. We tender him our heartiest congratulations.

Mr. Priyadarajan Ray, M.A., F.N.I., a Lecturer of the department, succeeds Professor Mukherjee as the Guruprasad Singh Professor of Chemistry.

* * *



The Late Dr. Purnoda Chandra Maityra M. A. D. Litt



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1938

PLATO: HIS MESSAGE

WENDELL THOMAS, S.T.M., PH.D.,
New York

EARLY in the fourth century B.C. Plato purchased a garden named the Academy in a suburb of Athens and there founded a college which became known by the same name. This college, perhaps the first scientific school ever established, has since given its name to countless institutions of study and teaching.

Plato's world was very much like our world, only smaller in almost every respect. He studied the stars, but could not see as many as we can. Instead of great national states on the shores of vast oceans, he beheld tiny city-states on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. In his day wars were plentiful, but not immense. On a smaller scale he also was confronted with swift economic developments, restless movements of population, widespread commerce, interchange of ideas, disturbing speculations about man and the world, the breakdown of faith, and the rise of skepticism.

In the face of this turmoil Plato established his college to shed light on the path to a better community.

What was his teaching? We cannot know exactly. For a period of forty years he lectured and wrote books on a multitude of

subjects with an amazing variety of illustrations and view-points. Outside of his serious oral instruction, of which we have little record, he was virtually a dramatist, a writer of dialogues, and supported one view after another. Accordingly, we possess no authentic statement or synopsis of his teaching as such.

Let us therefore imagine that we have overcome the barriers of space, time, and language, and are now in the Academy at Athens in the middle of the fourth century B.C., speaking with Plato himself in the mellow light of his sunset years. To get a systematic view of his teaching we shall ask leading questions and beg him in reply to refer us to his dialogues so that we may have something permanent to consult.

"First of all, Plato, what is the purpose of life?"

"The purpose of life," he answers, "is the everlasting possession of 'the Good,' which is absolute Beauty. For illustration I refer you to the speech of Socrates in the *Symposium*. A lover finds his greatest happiness in the possession of his beloved. He would like to prolong the beautiful moment for ever: but since he is merely a mortal he can retain it only by the procreation of children who will preserve the image and memory of his love. To the mortal creature, generation is thus a sort of eternity and immortality. We can retain everlasting possession of the beloved by repeated creation of beloved offspring.

"The same is true of desire in general. Some men love charming bodies: others love moneymaking, or fame, or athletics, or scientific pursuits. But all these satisfactions share more or less in the ultimate Good, or eternal Beauty: and they may enjoy this Beauty in so far as they create objects which reveal its presence.

"Some men are more creative in soul than in body. They conceive that which is proper to soul—namely, wisdom and virtue in general. And such creators are poets and all artists who deserve the name of inventor. But the greatest and fairest sort of wisdom by far is concerned with the ordering of states and families.

"After the soul has married Beauty and conceived an ideal state, she looks around for a midwife and nurse in the form of an intellectual companion who will help her bear and rear this ideal until it becomes actual. In other words, one person alone achieve an adequate social order—it must come from two or more, from a group of kindred

minds banded together in a harmonious school such as our own Academy."¹

"We thank you, Plato, for this answer to our question. But tell us by what authority you say what you say."

"My authority is reason," he replies, "I do not blindly follow the popular poets Homer and Hesiod, nor do I journey to Delphi, 'the navel of the earth,' to consult the oracle there. I cannot trust the Milesian thinkers who say that the world is fundamentally water, or air, or some other material substance, for they make no real place for intelligence. Of course I discount the words of imperialistic or unjust politicians and of Sophists who teach cleverness for pay. I learn by reasoning, by discussing human nature with fellow students, by studying the soul according to science.

"By nature the happy soul is the healthy soul, and health is nothing but harmony. By nature every soul seeks the Good. With Socrates I agree that no man is voluntarily evil or involuntarily good. If a man truly knows what is good, knows the consequences of his acts, knows how to control his habits and manage his circumstances, he will choose good every time. In short, virtue is knowledge, as Socrates says. And if virtue is knowledge, it can be taught. Thus a man can be educated in virtue so as to become happy."

"What, then, is your program of education?"

"I have dealt with education in the *Republic* and again in the *Law*. The aim of education is to produce healthy souls in a healthy community. This aim can be reached by training each citizen to appreciate the workings of the state as a whole, and to serve it in that calling for which he is fitted by nature. This means the universal and compulsory education of citizens of both sexes from conception till death.

"Such education will be conducted not only in school buildings but also on athletic fields and hunting ranges, in market places, theatres, state houses, and temples. Not only salaried teachers but all mature citizens will be responsible for the training of the young. The minister of education should be the prime minister—the most important man in the country.

"The course of instruction will build good character in various ways. The student will learn grace of soul through 'music' and

¹ *Symposium*, 205-211.

'gymnastic,' through pleasant games, noble stories and poems, wrestling, dancing, athletics and other wholesome play. He will learn to defend his country through horseback riding, drilling in armor, and wielding the bow, sling and dart. He will learn universal ideas from the study of mathematics—from arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy, and harmonics. After this schooling the student will go out into the greater community where his education will continue indefinitely with social ceremonies and institutions.

"Exceptionally wise and brilliant students, however, will pursue an advanced course which will fit them for leadership in the state. They will spend about five years in 'dialectic' or profound discussion about the real nature of the world, and will finally come to know the universal Good,³ or supreme Beauty, which is the very sun of the real world—the goal of all desire, and the final cause of existence.

"By conceiving the Good these thinkers will see life as a whole, with all the arts and sciences inter-related and man's destiny spread out in full view. Then after a long period of practice in the lower public offices, they will be able to rule the state wisely as legislators, judges, executives, supervisors, and educators."

"Since you mention the state, Plato, may we ask what kind of state you propose?"

"My views on the state," he replies, "are not well understood outside the Academy. It is often assumed that my political ideal is pictured in the *Republic*. In this work, however, I sketched a state only to illustrate my theme that the just soul is the happy soul now and forever—For a state is a human soul writ large. As a matter of fact, I constructed two states in the *Republic*: a peaceful, primitive, agricultural state, like some inland valley tribe; and a commercial, luxurious, and warlike state, like an Athens and Sparta combined.⁴ Neither the primitive nor the luxurious state is ideal, since the first lacks culture, and the second lacks peace. I later dealt with civic life in the *Statesman*: but in the *Laws* I have set down my ripest political wisdom.

"In the *Laws* I propose a state that is both cultured and peaceful. The commercial imperialism of Athens I reject along

¹ According to Plato, gymnastic is more important for the soul than the body.

² *Republic*, VI, 505-511.

³ The same, II, 369-374.

with the uncooth militarism of Sparta. The supreme victory for any state is not the defeat of an outside foe but the conquest within the state of the worse elements by the better. Not Military valor but wisdom should be the state's leading virtue. Not profit-making commerce but useful agriculture should be its support.

"Since women shall share the labor of men there will be few hours of work and plenty of leisure for all. And since the state by its constitution shall renounce commercial imperialism such as the dominion of Athens over her colonial possessions, its normal aspect will be peace and not war."

"Very good Plato; but what provision have you made for development, progress, or change?"

"Only a bad state should change," answers Plato. "It should change and become good. But a good state is already desirable and should not change. On that account I have laid down many rules for the prevention of change and the restraint of human caprice. Every undertaking will be strictly controlled by the government.

"The population must be kept constant by the use of penalties or rewards. There shall be no lending of money on interest, no credit, and no free choice of occupation. Every transaction shall be officially registered. Slaves must be kept in their place. If a citizen kills his slave, he shall undergo purification, but if a slave even wounds a citizen, the citizen may kill or torture the slave or do with him whatever he pleases."

"There shall be no innovations in amusements or artistic pursuits, for these may lead to innovations in government. Poets must submit to censorship. There shall be no independent family authority, no private worship, no unofficial education. A newly married couple shall not live as they please; the young husband shall take his place at the public table with his fellow citizens as before, and the young wife shall eat at the common table for women."

"But, Plato!" we exclaim, "surely human nature will not tolerate such rigid and complete regulation as you propose in the *Laws*!"

"Human nature is plastic," comes the reply. "Governmental regulations will be cheerfully obeyed by the people if they really believe them to be God's will. Hence we must instruct them about

God's control of the world, both human and natural. God must be conceived not as unintelligent matter, according to the Milesian theorists, nor yet as a somewhat immoral soul, according to the popular poets but as a perfectly immortal and rational soul.

"As I have suggested in the *Timæus*, God creates the world by imposing the changeless heavenly forms on a formless and restless something called matter." The resulting combination of form and matter is the world of sense-objects. The world is thus procreated by form as father out of matter as mother. Since the laws which the ideal state imposes on human nature are integral with the changeless heavenly forms which God Himself imposes on matter to create this marvelous living world, the citizens of the state should willingly conform to the state's laws and regulations."

As Plato stops speaking we stand amazed at the scope and brilliance of his vision; but his entire scheme seems too formal and strict. Is human nature nothing but amorphous material for legal form? Are forms absolute in heaven and earth?

Plato is a magnificent thinker, but in certain respects his thinking may be defective.

If so, why so? Let us see.

* * * * *

If we scrutinize Plato's political program, we find that its various defects can be reduced to one—namely, the denial of individual right, or a circle of legal freedom within which the individual may develop his unique capacities and join with others to form voluntary groups. We cannot successfully argue against Plato's use of reason or his ideal of political harmony. We may even accept his view that the state should be all-inclusive, since (in his plan) it organizes all fields of human culture; and an individual whose rights lie outside of human culture must be either a beast or a god.⁷ But we must insist that within the state the individual be accorded a right to harmonious freedom as the condition in which he can best serve the whole.

In making this criticism we are not assuming something that Plato himself would deny; strange to say, we are simply correcting

⁷ *Timæus*, 40-61. See A. E. Taylor, *Plato*, pp. 456-458.

⁸ To make the military-economic state all-inclusive and supreme is indeed a tragedy. Yet the appeal to a "state of nature" as a protection of individual right against the state is unhistoric and futile. The only valid alternative is an appeal to the ideal state.

Plato's view of "the just state" by Plato's view of "the just man," who is by no means a mere cell in the body-politic, but a responsible and intelligent citizen.

The just man sets in order his own life, and is his own master and his own law, and is at peace with himself; and when he has become one entirely temperate and perfectly adjusted nature, then he proceeds to act... whether in a matter of property or in the treatment of the body or in some affair of politics or private business, always thinking and calling that which preserves and co-operates with this harmonious condition just and good action.*

It does not require genius to see that Plato's ideal citizen, who is typically Athenian, could not tolerate or endure Plato's government, which is typically Egyptian. Plato himself is a splendid example of the Athenian citizen, overflowing with individuality. While teaching in the Academy he conceived at least four different ideas of a state: two in the *Republic*, one in the *Statesman*, and one in the *Lysis*. If he were to become a citizen of his own state in the *Lysis*, he would soon conceive a new constitution, and be banished for wishing to change the form of government.

How are we to explain this contradiction between Plato's ideal man and his plan for the state? Chiefly by the fact that the ancient Greek philosopher was planning a state which would fit the traditional class system based on warfare and slavery, and in such a state the ideal man is impossible. Plato himself belonged to the upper class, was a warrior, and kept slaves; and his forebears were noble Athenian pirates. His heritage handicapped his ideals.

Let us glance back for a moment at this heritage. Until about 3,500 B. C. the Stone Age lay over the Aegean basin. Then strongholds sprang up in the control of men who had discovered how to make and use weapons of bronze, far superior to stone weapons. Since bronze was quite rare, only a few could possess it; these became warrior chiefs who easily dominated the Stone Age people about them, and thus formed city-states such as Cnossus in Crete, Mycenae in Argolis, and Athens in Attica. The conquering warriors of the Bronze Age became "nobles;" and the conquered farmers of the Stone Age remained commoners. Now and then a band of warriors, seeking power and adventure, would raid some other land, defeat the warriors

* *Republic*, IV, 443d (*Jowett tr.*).

there, kill the men, and bring back the women and children as slaves. Raiding became a profession, war a principal industry, piracy the only respectable trade of the nobles.

Then came the Iron Age. Since iron was more plentiful than bronze, it made possible the *psilaux*, or mass formation of heavy-armed fighters. To defend themselves against Sparta, the nobles of Athens welcomed into their ranks such Athenian commoners as could afford a complete iron equipment. Once these commoners fought shoulder to shoulder with nobles, they began to take part in the government. In that day democracy meant only that commoners could buy weapons and armor, learn to fight, and become professional pirates like the nobles.

Thus every prominent Hellenic state was literally a state of war: its citizens lived in constant fear of attack by another power, or rebellion on the part of its own slaves. Athenian democracy was a false democracy, for the commercial democrats of Athens, like the military aristocrats of Sparta, composed a class that lived on the back of another class. As a child of this piracy culture, Plato planned a state to fit the institutions of war, class, and slavery. While declaring that peaceful wisdom should be the state's leading virtue, he clearly saw that a state in danger of war with a neighbor or with its own lower class must live like an armed camp. Military discipline, however, is sufficient to annihilate individual right. An armed camp is the last place in the world for freedom of cultural interest, freedom of speech, or freedom of private association. Liberty and class government do not mix. Consequently, Plato's picture of man and the state was a picture of contradiction.

* * * * *

In conceiving an ideal state for our day, we may accept Plato's vision of Beauty, together with his stress on wisdom and education; but we cannot tolerate the institution of war, class, and slavery which defeats individual right and all liberal culture.

The supreme council of state should indeed be an educational council, with the minister of education as its president or prime-minister. Happiness comes when rulers seek the welfare of the whole instead of a part, and educators as such are more apt than warriors or industrialists to seek the welfare of the whole. This does not mean that all functions of state, including economic organization, shall be

directly administered by educators, however wise and statesmanlike they may be; it means only that educators shall direct and correlate them for the benefit of the community.

* * * * *

To support his view of the state, Plato proposed in the *Laws* a view of the universe having analogous features. Corresponding to fixed laws in the state he saw fixed forms in the heavens—the world's "formal cause." Corresponding to the rebellious class of slaves, he saw an active and infinite something called matter—the world's "material cause." Corresponding to the prime-minister imposing fixed laws on the slave class he saw a cosmic agent—the world's "efficient cause" imposing fixed heavenly forms on matter. This agent, conceived as a self-moving soul, he named God. Like a bureaucratic official obedient to the established forms of the dominant class, Plato's finite God operates on a restless and servile matter.

Remove the notion of class division from this view of the universe, and the division between form and matter is removed. Instead of enjoying fixed authority over matter, forms are now imbedded in matter as its changing appearance. Instead of being servile matter is supreme: it is Beauty itself. That is, the world's "material cause" is also its "final cause." Thus Plato's conception of Beauty is enhanced by the addition of spontaneous activity coming from infinite matter. Since Beauty is now active, it becomes the world's "efficient cause," and may justly be named God, with the result that Plato's finite and individual God disappears.

CURRENCY EVENTS DURING THE DEPRESSION (II)

DR. J. C. SINHA, M.A., PH.D.

THE gold exodus, especially on the scale in which it began after the linking of the rupee to sterling, is very unusual in our economic history. From time immemorial, import of precious metals has been a normal feature of Indian foreign trade. Pliny complained about 77 A.D. that India drained the Roman Empire of 54 million sesterces or £ 435,000 worth of gold and silver every year. It was but natural that he should describe India as a "sink of precious metals" a charge which has been repeated by subsequent foreign writers. This inflow of precious metals was one of the factors which made it unnecessary for India to adopt a policy of mercantilism when it arose in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is not of course implied that India was never an exporter of gold in the past. To quote a few recent instances the net export of gold from India on private account, was valued at Rs. 1.15 crores in 1915-16¹ and at Rs. 2.73 crores in 1921-22.² But such exports sink into insignificance when we compare them with the amount which left the country during the five years 1931-32 to 1935-36. The relevant figures are given in the following table (Table No. 2).

It appears from the table that the net export of gold from India during the last five years was more than one-fourth of the total production in the whole world, excluding U. S. S. R. As the annual output of gold in this country is not even 2% of the world production, the great bulk of the Indian export obviously came out of the quantity previously imported into the country, which had been lying hoarded, partly in the form of bullion but mainly in the form of ornaments.

TWO CLASSES OF GOLD SALES WITHIN THE COUNTRY.

What were the factors that led to the flow of this hoarded gold, first to the bullion markets of India and afterwards to foreign countries? The former movement began much earlier than the latter. It was in

¹ *Review of the Trade of India in 1915-16*, p. 94.

² *Report of the Controller of the Currency (in Indian) for 1921-22*.

TABLE 2.

Flow of Gold from India.
+ indicates export from India, - indicates import into India.

Year (April to March.)	Average price of gold in London per ounce		Net export of gold (ounces)		Balance of payments (gold, silver or other coins) in rupees	Balance of trade in merchandise (gold, silver or other coins) in rupees	Balance of current accounts in rupees	Total visible balance of credits in rupees (1) + (2) - (3)	Year (calendar year)	Annual production of gold in the world (excluding U.S.A.) in millions of ounces (b)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)						
1931-32	125 00	Rs. 19 0	+ 7 00	+ 81 97	+ 57 000	+ 80 24 00	- 34 32	+ 46 92	1931	50 63
1932-33	21 4 6	+ 6 36	+ 6 36	+ 63 00	+ 64 00	- 12 61	- 43 00	+ 10 39	1932	52 89
1933-34	51 12 3	+ 6 70	+ 6 70	+ 57 00	+ 57 00	+ 20 00 00	- 60 44	+ 20 51	1933	50 77
1934-35	51 11 0	+ 6 00	+ 6 00	+ 52 34	+ 52 34	+ 11 31	- 49 70	+ 11 97	1934	48 01
1935-36	50 4 4	+ 4 00 00	+ 4 00 00	+ 37 00 00	..	+ 21 00 00	1935	44 76

* Government buy-out price of gold, according to the Contract Act of 1923 - Rs. 92, 2 as, 10 pbs per tola of fine gold.

(a) From the Review of the Trade of India, 1935-36.

(b) From the Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations, 1935-36.

Kilograms have been converted to Troy ounces @ 1 kg. = 32 1607 oz., 16 J.

The remaining figures in the Table except those for 1933-35 are taken from annual Reports of the Controller of the Currency (for India), 1931-35 to 1934-35.

(c) Taken from Annual Statement of the Reserves of the Bank of India for the year ending 31st March, 1936, Vol. I, Table No. 15, p. 600.

(d) Revised figures from the Report of the Controller of the Currency for 1933-35, p. 61.

(e) Revised figures from the Report of the Controller of the Currency for 1934-35, p. 41.

progress during the second phase of the depression when it was deepening more and more. During the closing months of 1930-31 there was "a considerable return of gold from up-country districts to Bombay. This inflow which commenced in March has been variously estimated at from 5000 to 6000 tolas of fine gold a day."³ The great bulk of gold thus flowing to Bombay roughly up to the end of the year 1931-32 appears to have been "distress" gold sold by people to tide over their economic difficulties. But gold sales, within the country, at least the greater part of it, in subsequent years, was "investment" gold, which was exchanged for profit and generally for subsequent investment.

The effect on prices of these two kinds of gold sales within the country, was somewhat different. "Distress" gold, so far as it was not utilised, to meet the dues of the moneylender or of the landlord, should result in an immediate rise in prices brought about by an increase in the volume of purchase of consumption goods. Such sales of gold would thus reflect themselves in an increase of retail transactions. But later on when this gold would pass into the hands of the bullion dealers, its effect on prices should be the same as that of "investment" gold, viz., increased demand for Government securities, larger purchase of postal cash certificates and increased deposits in postal and other banks.

Thus it is clear that the immediate rise in the Calcutta wholesale index number in October, 1931 and in the next two months, must have been partly due to the sale of "distress" gold. The sudden increase in the absorption of small coins during the year 1931-32, also roughly indicates an increase in the number of retail transactions.⁴ The absorption of whole rupees and notes, which may be required for 'financial circulation' is not as good an index of the changes in retail transactions.

GOLD EXPORT AND ITS CAUSES.

But whether it was originally 'distress' gold or 'investment' gold, gold began to leave the country, regularly after September, 1931.

³ *Report of the Controller of the Currency for the year 1930-31*, p. 10.

⁴ According to the *Report of the Controller of the Currency for the year 1934-35*, p. 86, the withdrawal of small coins from circulation in India in 1930-31 was equal to Rs. 66 lakhs. In 1931-32, the addition of such coins to circulation was equal to Rs. 19½ lakhs, i.e., from -66 lakhs, it changed to +19½ lakhs.

What led to this export from India? Many reasons have been advanced. One is that it was sent out for correcting our unfavourable balance of payments. As Prof. Viner has shown, the dominant tradition in English Political Economy with regard to this question, has been J. S. Mill's theory that an unfavourable balance of payments necessitates a change in the relative price levels, and bullion will move until relative prices in the paying and the recipient areas are such as to enable the new excess of payments over receipts to be met by the export of goods. To quote Mill's actual words: "Disturbances of the equilibrium of imports and exports, and consequent disturbances of the exchange, may be considered as of two classes; the one casual or accidental, which, if not on too large a scale, correct themselves through the premium on bills, without any transmission of the precious metals, the other arising from the general state of prices which cannot be corrected without the subtraction of actual money from the circulation of one of the countries, or an annihilation of credit equivalent to it, since the mere transmission of bullion (as distinguished from money) not having any effect on prices, is of no avail to abate the cause from which the disturbance proceeded."⁵ As India was off gold, our gold export could not be due to the necessity of correcting any disequilibrium in trade by a relative change of prices.

ADJUSTMENT OF BALANCE OF PAYMENTS.

There is another variant of this contention, *viz.*, gold export was necessary merely for liquidating the debit balance of payment already incurred. But the figures given in Table 2 does not fully support this view. According to this table, the total visible balance of accounts in our favour, after meeting the foreign obligation for the year 1931-32 was Rs. 54.07. But our net export of gold during that year, was valued at Rs. 57.97 crores. The great bulk of it was therefore not utilised for meeting our adverse balance.

It is true that our annual balance of accounts cannot be accurately calculated. But it is equally true that this balance need not always be adjusted to the nearest pie at the end of every financial year. Sir George Schuster said before the Committee on Monetary and Financial Questions relating to the Ottawa Conference in 1932 that

⁵ J. S. Mill—*Principles of Political Economy* (Ashley's edition), Book III, Ch. 20, p. 618.

"apart from movements of capital or the country's requirements for the purchase of precious metals, India in order to maintain an even position requires a favourable trade balance of at least 50 crores annually." As our balance of trade in merchandise in 1931-32 was Rs. 32.74 crores, we could have therefore met our normal foreign obligations that year by sending abroad about one third the actual quantity of gold exported.

REAL REASON FOR GOLD EXPORT.

In fact, the explanation of our gold export is quite simple. Gold as a commodity, was relatively cheap in India and this is why it was exported. So long as the rupee was linked to gold, it was not usually profitable to export it. But the situation changed completely in September, 1931. The rise in the rupee price of gold, not coming up immediately to the full extent of the depreciation of sterling in terms of gold, the export of the metal afforded a profit to Indian bullion dealers. This has been very clearly explained in the Statistical Appendix to Dr. H. Sinha's article on Indian Gold Exports in the *Indian Journal of Economics* of April, 1933.

MEASURES SUGGESTED.

As Government allowed this gold export to go on uninterrupted, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at their fifth annual meeting held at Delhi on the 26th and 27th March, 1934 criticised the "let alone" policy of Government and passed the following resolutions:—

- (a) an immediate embargo on the export of gold ;
- (b) purchase of gold by Government on the basis of day-to-day ruling rate.

THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY.

What were the difficulties in giving effect to these resolutions ? The question whether the export of gold from India should have been allowed to go on unrestricted or not, hinged on whether the

* Appendixes to the Summary of Proceedings of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, 1932, pp. 156-159.

bulk of the export was "distress" gold or "investment" gold. If it belonged to the former category, free export was necessary in the interest of those who had been compelled to part with their gold on account of severe economic distress.

As most of the gold exported during 1931-32, was "distress" gold, the "let alone" policy of Government was quite justifiable. A policy of gold purchase by Government along with an embargo on export, as suggested in some quarters, was then out of the question. How much gold was Government to purchase at the time? Should it have equalled the amount actually exported from India in 1931-32, valued at Rs. 57.97 crores? If the funds for purchasing such a huge amount had been raised by a loan, the burden of interest charged at the existing high rate of nearly 5½ per cent. would have proved very heavy on the Indian tax-payer, apart from the possible loss due to the future fall in the value of gold so purchased. But is not the condition different to-day? In his Budget speech in February, 1933, Sir George Schuster pointed out that most of the gold exported during the financial year which was then closing, was "investment" gold. If that was so in 1932-33, it stands to reason that very little "distress" gold was exported in subsequent years when the economic situation showed some improvement.

What then, was the objection against restricting gold exports after March, 1932? The reason given by Sir George Schuster was "The broad fact is that India could not with exports at their present level support the present volume of imports simultaneously with meeting her external obligations unless they were supplemented by gold exports." He had explained this more fully in his speech at the Ottawa Conference. According to him, a reduction of imports by causing loss of customs revenue which was the main stay of Central Government finance, "would create a completely impossible budgetary position." If, on the other hand, imports did not decline, India would be unable to meet her external obligations except by raising loans abroad. How was this conundrum to be solved? The abnormal fall in our export surplus in 1932-33 (this year there was an actual deficit amounting to Rs. 13 lakhs) and also in 1934-35, shows that the choice before India, at least during these two years was really this—whether it was desirable to create active liability for the Government in the shape of foreign loans, for the sake of preserving dead assets of gold in the country. It must not be forgotten that

gold which left the country, came out of private holdings and not out of the currency reserves of the Government. Thus there was no cause for raising the alarm that the country was rushing headlong to financial bankruptcy, on account of the "drain" of gold out of the country.

INCIDENCE OF EXPORT DUTY.

But a critic might ask if Sir George Schuster really wanted free export of gold for the sake of customs duties on imports, as stated in his speech before the Ottawa Conference, could not the same object have been fulfilled by levying an export duty on gold? There was recently a proposal for an export duty on gold in the central legislature, but not on the ground stated above. In the course of the debate on the Finance Bill before the Council of State in April, 1935, Sir James Grigg objected to the proposal on the ground that "it would have ultimately fallen on the seller, who as a rule was a poor person with only a small stock of gold." This does not however appear to have been the case, for, as pointed out above, it was only during the last stage of the second phase of the depression from July, 1930 to August, 1931, that such "distress" gold was sold to bullion dealers. On the other hand, it must be recognised that the incidence of the export duty would fall mainly on the Indian seller. It is true that the export of the gold from India forms a substantial part of the annual world output, but it forms nevertheless a very small portion of the total world stock. Any export duty on Indian gold is therefore not likely to raise its price abroad to any appreciable extent. But the question is, who is the person who pays the tax? Is he a needy cultivator obliged to take away ornaments from the person of his wife? Or, is he a bullion dealer, who exports or does not export accordingly as it is profitable or unprofitable? If such a bullion dealer is obliged to reduce his buying price of gold because he has to export at a lower price, he does not pay that reduced price to "a poor person with only a small stock of gold," who was obliged to part with his gold long ago.

It has been already pointed out that the disparity between the rupee price and the sterling price of gold is really responsible for gold outflow. As this disparity has been created by Government, it

is a legitimate source of revenue. Sir James Grigg, in his Budget speech on February 28, 1935, rightly pointed out that our revenue tariff was too high and complicated. In fact, the lowering of this tariff, would bring some relief to the Indian agriculturist who has so far gained little from protective duties on manufacturers and from high revenue duties in general. The proceeds of the export duty on gold might very well be utilised for lowering revenue duties on some of the necessities of the Indian ryot. But this export duty should be imposed solely for revenue. It must not be so high as to stop the outflow of gold, for it is difficult to accept the view that the conversion of private gold holdings into interest-bearing assets, does involve national loss. It is now late in the day to sigh for the loss of "distress" gold in 1931-32. As already pointed out, it was not a practical proposition for Government to purchase this gold at the market rate. It was certainly advantageous to the sellers that they obtained a higher price due to unrestricted export than they could have otherwise obtained. If they had pledged their gold with the village money-lender instead of selling it outright, it was extremely doubtful whether they could ultimately recover the gold which had once been pledged in this way.

With regard to the sale of "investment" gold, however, it has been argued that the Indian sellers were merely exchanging "solid" gold for depreciated sterling. If we take a short period view of the matter, it may be said that as they were selling this gold of their own free will, it is not unreasonable to assume that they were parting with a commodity having a lower value for one which had a higher one. Even in the long run, it is true that sterling may depreciate, but it is equally true that gold itself is not free from this danger. The increase in annual output of gold in the world which has been referred to in Table 2 shows that our problem to-day is not primarily that of shortage of gold. Thanks to a general devaluation of the world's currencies and the consequent rise in the price of gold in terms of these currencies, the monetary stock of gold in the world has increased considerably during the last five years, partly from larger production, as has already been mentioned, and partly from dishoarding of gold by China and India. The fear of gold shortage has vanished. On the other hand, it is apprehended that the world might suffer from a plethora of gold in no distant future.

FUTURE VALUE OF GOLD.

The future value of gold is in any case uncertain. It will depend above all, on that incalculable factor—the future monetary policy of the leading countries of the world. Even if there is a general return to gold standard in the near future, the policy of economising monetary gold found successful in the pre-depression period, is not likely to be given up. It may also be taken as practically certain that if and when gold standard comes back, lower gold parities than those of 1929, will be generally adopted. There is therefore a greater probability of the value of gold falling rather than rising in future. It seems that India has done well in converting her dead stock of gold into interest-bearing assets. It will not be difficult for her to get back her gold on more favourable terms, should such an occasion arise in future.

Speaking quite broadly, this gold export is an *effect* of the depression. But at the same time it is a *measure* for trade revival. To the extent gold export, as pointed out in the *Report of the Controller of the Currency*, for 1931-32, “stemmed the headlong fall of commodity prices in India,” it benefited the business community. It strengthened also the rupee-sterling exchange and solved the remittance problem of Government. Gold export again has been partly responsible for the rise in the price of Government securities. In other words, the fall in the long term rate of interest which is a pre-requisite of trade recovery, is partly due to our gold export. Thus it offers one more illustration of the wonderful adaptability of man under changing economic conditions—of his eternal struggle to mould his environment to satisfy his own pressing needs.

(Concluded)

THE ANGRIAS AND THE DUTCH

PROFESSOR SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT. (OXON)

KANBOJI Angria was not a corsair like Captain Kidd. He was the Lord High Admiral of the Maratha fighting fleet and rode the sea under his master's flag, but to most Europeans, he was no better than a common pirate who seized every ship he could, held the unfortunate sailors to ransom and made them labour hard for a scanty subsistence until they could secure their freedom either by flight or by purchase. Yet he derived his authority from the lawfully constituted government of his people, and exercised, in the name of his king, the sovereignty of the sea in a manner sanctioned by the ancient customs of the coast. In this respect his conduct did not differ in any way from that of the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch, and it is interesting to note that the trading nations from the west often brought charges of piracy against each other, but they invariably refused to allow any vessel, other than their own, to sail without their passport, unless such a right had been secured by a treaty or a convention. No self-respecting nation would quietly concede to another the right of controlling or regulating the movement of their merchant men across the high road of the sea, and the result was constant friction. Kanboji was resolved to defend his rights against all his neighbours jointly or severally, and at different times he fought the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch. The struggle did not come to an end with Kanboji's death in June, 1729, but was continued with varying success by his sons, and the Angrian fleet was a terror which the sea-farers of the eighteenth century were glad to avoid. The exploits of Kanboji and his successors are but vaguely known, and an account of their relations with the Dutch may be of some interest to the students of Indian history.

We do not exactly know when Kanboji was appointed to the supreme command of the Maratha fleet, but it is clear that he came to blows with the Dutch East India Company very early in his career. In the opening months of 1703 Kanboji captured a Dutch man-of-war, as John Burniston, Deputy Governor of Bombay, informed Sir John Gayer. In a letter, dated 11 March, 1702-3, Burniston wrote: "we

have a report of Cannajee Angria's treppating a Dutch ship of 30 guns who put in near their port for wood and water, which their boats went for. The villain took his opportunity of seizing them and sending his people in galvets on board, who being haled by the ship, answered that they had provision for them, and on such a pretence surprised and mastered her" (Surat Factory Records, Vol. 100). How the Dutch retaliated we do not know, but we may fairly infer that peace and amity had not been established between them and Kanhoji, who again made prizes of a sloop and a galley in 1710. (Letter from Cochin, dated 18th April, 17-10, Madras Records.) The Dutch strongly remonstrated with him and asked him to restore the vessels with all their belongings, but Kanhoji quietly retorted that "he is not aware of any friendship existing between him and the Company, nor of any correspondence on the matter. He does not molest such merchants as make him presents as do for instance the English, Portuguese and Moors. Finally he does not hold himself responsible for the return of prizes." (*Press list of Ancient Dutch Records*, pp. 78.)

The Dutch Commander of Malabar corresponded with his official superiors at Batavia about some effective measures against Kanhoji's highhandedness on the high seas, but nothing came out of it. In 1710 Kanhoji was at war with the Portuguese and the Sidi. His relations with the English were also far from cordial, for he seized an English boat in 1712. In 1718 Charles Hoone, Governor of Bombay, proclaimed war against Angria, and a few years later Kanhoji's territories were invaded by a joint Anglo-Portuguese force by land and sea. It is, therefore, likely that during these years of trouble and turmoil Kanhoji did not like to add to his enemies by offering any fresh offence to the Dutch, or more probably, the Dutch themselves had been more careful, and cautiously avoided the Maratha fleet.

Twenty-eight years passed before the Angrian fleet again engaged a Dutch squadron of three ships, two of which were captured. Kanhoji was no longer in the land of the living, his eldest son Sekhoji also had passed away and the command of the Angrian fleet was held by Sambhaji Angria Sarkhel, an intrepid sailor of uncertain temper. The official account of this battle sent home from Ceylon under the signature of Captain Grombrugge, Chief mate Pieter Jansz. Bors and Second mate Willem Cramers of the *Noordwolfsbergen*, the only ship that escaped capture, has been preserved in the Public Record Office at the Hague and is well worth quoting.

" At 14 degrees of longitude (on their way to Mocha) on Sunday, the 23rd of March, 1738 in the morning at the 4th bell, we were reading a text to the crew, viz., Luke 5, verse 5, when we observed North of us eight ships sailing before the wind and in our direction. After finishing our religious ceremony with prayer and song, we hailed the *Magdalena* who had been fighting with the pirates the year before and when we asked them for their opinion as to the approaching vessels, they replied " those are fishers with dry nets."

Keeping near to the yacht we gave the signal for drawing up in battle array, turning Southwest, where the sea was 13 fathom deep.

We had 4 guns, the pirates approached with 15 sails (8 goeraps, 5 large and 2 small galliots) and started firing at the 1st bell p.m. ; we got a six pounder through our sternpost. Three large galliots attacked the *Zeelands Welvaren* and notwithstanding their defence, they boarded the ship ; we advanced to their relief and succeeded in this purpose, but the *Magdalena* had not kept near us, as was their duty, they now came alongside the *Zeelands Welvaren*, who told them that they were free of the pirates, but that only 8 or 9 of the crew survived.

In the meantime the pirates attacked us strongly, mainly aiming at our rigging. The gunner and the paymaster of the *Zeelands Welvaren* came swimming to our board and told us that their ship was lost as the remaining part of the crew were all injured. We then tried to approach the *Magdalena* but she rapidly moved off towards the coast and soon the sloop was boarded by 2 galliots, her flag was lowered, hereafter the pirates sailed in our direction with all their might and notwithstanding our continuous firing 2 goeraps boarded the *Zeelands Welvaren* and towed the ship ashore.

We now could only save our own ship, the pirates kept firing for another 3 bells, always aiming at our rigging. We prevented them from boarding and they dropped off one after another.

The whole battle had lasted 10 bells and it was now one bell before sunset, our crew were wholly exhausted, our gunnery had broken spindles and so we turned to the Southwest as soon as possible in order to pass between the isles of Maldiva and return to Cochin.

We had lost one Buginese (viz. Balinese) soldier and one sailor was injured." (Letters sent from Ceylon to Holland, 1739, 3rd Vol.)

From the letter of Laurens Kerkboven and other prisoners, dated 19th June, 1738 (Letters from Ceylon to Holland, 1739, 3rd Vol.)

we learn that the battle was fought nine miles to the north of Bracelore. We find more details about the casualty and an account of Angria's land and strongholds in the above-mentioned letter, as the following extract shows:

"On our side 26 were killed and many injured, both our Captains were alive with 38 European soldiers and sailors, 20 Moors and Bahese. Of those men 2 enlisted voluntarily and 9 were forced to enter the service of the pirates. The pirates counted 200 killed and wounded men. They brought the cargo into their fortresses, sank the ships and forced us to work as slaves without drink or sufficient food.

The country is rough and unfertile, they do not sow or mow, they only go marauding. There are seven fortresses, 6 are of no account but the 7th called Boesroebe (*sic.* Vijayadrag ?) has 50 guns. Their naval force consists of 11 large gjeraps, each with 16 or 18 guns (*sic.* and nine pounders) manned with 300 men each and 20 galliots, each with 2 or 3 guns. At our arrival we found 6 Europeans in service of the pirates, *sic.*, two Englishmen, two Portuguese as gunners and two Dutchmen, one as gunner-major and secret-councillor of the head of the nation."

According to Simon Stex and others, who addressed a letter to the Dutch Commander of Malabar on the 26th May, 1739, the casualty was as follows:—

Zeslands Wateren:

28 alive
16 killed
9 forced to enlist
2 voluntarily enlisted.

Magdalena:

37 alive
12 killed
3 forced to enlist
1 voluntarily enlisted.

Sambhaji, wrongly described as King by the prisoners, demanded a ransom of 40,000 Rupees, which was later on reduced to 20,000. (Letters sent from Ceylon to Holland, 1739, 3rd Vol., p. 1452). In August the so-called "King of Angria" consented to accept 15,000 Rupees for the freedom of the prisoners, who informed Van

Gollennesse that they stood in fear of their life and might otherwise be forced to serve the Angria who had 9 Ghorabs and 25 Galivats ready for sailing.

Van Gollennesse had indeed opened negotiations with Sambhaji as soon as the report of the naval engagement reached him and requested the Maratha Admiral "to send the surviving part of the crew to the residents of the Company at Barasakoor as well as the 3 shallops." The answer of Sambhaji was defiant and unambiguous and ran as follows:—

"Writer is sending this letter with due respect and love, he has received with pleasure your letter of the 13th June, 1738, and it is true that Wihay Narana was sent with a letter, however you have answered that you would write to your authorities and await their reply before deciding about trade in our country. So we understood this matter would take a year or more and meanwhile peace was not yet made. Perhaps you know that all over the world peace is made by contract signed by both the parties. Therefore if you intend to make peace, please send some intelligent and able men to make up the treaty and if you send ships with merchants we will live with them in perfect understanding and friendship.

As regards the shallops, if you had made peace earlier, we would never have taken these, but now we met them in time of war.

As to punishment which you purpose, you have felt our power once or twice and in future you will know it again." (Letters sent from Malabar to Holland, 1739, 4th Vol., p. 2225.)

Sambhaji evidently had complete confidence in his fleet, or he would not hurl this defiance against the Dutch, for as a vassal of the Maratha King he was already engaged in a war which the Maratha State was waging against the Portuguese. The Dutch, however, could not ignore this challenge and prepared a formidable fleet under Reinicus Sierama, who subsequently succeeded Van Gollennesse as Commander of Malabar, to avenge the insult and injury they had suffered at the hands of Angria. In 1739 the Dutch fleet, consisting of eight men-of-war besides some light vessels, appeared near the bar of Agoada, and the Portuguese Viceroy, intent on exploiting this opportunity, proposed an alliance against the common enemy. The expedition, however, accomplished nothing and in 1743 Van Gollennesse wrote that "these pirates were growing stronger every day to the great chagrin of all European and native traders."

Sambhaji died in December, 1741. He was succeeded by Tulaji who, according to Van Golleuesse, opened negotiations with the Dutch officers of Barcelore for peace and offered them due reparation for their loss. Apparently nothing came out of these negotiations and the Dutch Captains were instructed to do the Angrias all the damage they could. In January, 1743, Tulaji's fleet of seven ghurabs and twentythree gallivats entered the roadstead of Calicut and "caused great damage to the English and native traders." The Dutch despatched two of their battleships, *Popkensburg* and *S. Heeren* to fight the intruders but they disappeared before the Dutch ships appeared on the scene.

A Cochin letter of the year 1747 (No. 437 of the Madras Records) refers to fresh aggression on Tulaji's part which resulted in the loss of two Dutch ships, the *Zwijndragt* and the *Collen*. Seven years later Angria again captured three Dutch vessels. Meanwhile rumours of a proposed alliance between Tulaji and the Ady Rajah which were rife in 1747 caused the Dutch considerable anxiety and uneasiness. In 1751 the Dutch authorities of Batavia issued special instructions to all their vessels sailing from Surat "in order to avoid an encounter with the pirates of Cango Angria." Kanhoji had indeed passed away a quarter of a century ago, but what greater compliments could his adversaries pay him than to give his name to his people?

Unfortunately the Dutch were not the only people who wished the ruin of Angria and his men. The English were daily growing more powerful and the Peshwa joined them in an unholy alliance against Tulaji. Kanhoji had successfully combatted the Anglo-Portuguese alliance of 1721 but his son succumbed before the Anglo-Maratha alliance in 1756. Three Dutch letters announce the fall of Gheria and the complete destruction of that fleet which had held the merchant nations of the Malabar coast in awe for half a century. Thus ended the epic struggle between the English and the Angrias for supremacy of the sea. The Dutch archives, if properly explored, may yet throw fresh light on the history of the Maratha navy.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS

(A Re-examination of the Far Eastern Question)

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EVER since Japan's ascendancy following the war with Russia, 1904-1905 the Sino-Japanese question has frequently shown the propensity of assuming the dignity of becoming in its final stage the American-Japanese Question. This is primarily due to America's self-imposed rôle of leadership, quasi-political and quasi-moral, in the Far Eastern affairs, which may in turn be attributed to the "superiority-complex" of the Americans. The Washington Conference of 1921-22 was the most remarkable example of this tendency. At the same time, the Conference proved to be a clearing house for the Far Eastern Question; burying the old and ringing in the new.

It is to be noted that the chief aim of the Conference was the neutralization of Japan's domination of China during the World War in general, the outcome of the Twenty-One Demands in particular. Confronted with the concerted pressure of the United States and Great Britain, Japan exhibited an extremely conciliatory attitude both in the Chinese and Naval Questions. Whether her retreat was prompted by the rising tide of "Liberalism" at home or by the protracted financial debacle which followed the Armistice of 1918 or by the "threat" of verbal bombardments staged in the American Senate or by her deference to the sudden preponderance of the American Navy, emerging out of the World War or by the combination of all these four, it was not easy to judge at that time. Nevertheless, to an observer outside the closed chambers of the Conference, there was no difficulty to perceive that it was the zero hour of Japan's prestige and diplomacy. Particularly in the Chinese Question, apprehension was held in certain quarters that Japan was disgorging at Washington, in the winter of 1921, all what she ate at Peking in the spring of 1915. This retreat on the part of Japan was made possible, because, in addition to those four mentioned, of the innate desire of

her statesmen to perpetuate their traditional friendship with America by closer alignment in the future. At the same time, there was no denying that they placed their good faith in the political philosophy embraced in the Wilsonian phrase, "to make the world safe for democracy" which then was still in vogue.

Whatever reason, or reasons, it may be, Japan came out of the Conference with a change not only of mind but also of heart. She was determined to face the future with both a clean breast and a clear conscience. Thus, the "new orientation" and "new enlightenment" became the guiding spirit of her foreign policy of the "new era" both towards the United States and China. Particularly towards China, in conciliation and in co-operation, the co-existence of Japan and China as sister-nations of the Far East loomed up as a beacon of hope to the Japanese leaders. This attitude of friendship and neighborliness on the part of Japan was put forward with renewed vigor and determination when Baron Shidehara became the Master of the Gaimusho (Foreign Office) for six years of the post-Washington Conference period.

Indeed, it appeared as if "the era of good feeling" was ushered in to stay in the relations of Japan, China and the United States—the "eternal triangle" of the Pacific. At the same time however appalling in its devastation, the greatest national disaster of Japan on September 1, 1923, caused by the visitation of earthquake, had its "silver lining" to promote the better relations between America and Japan. Both sympathy and assistance, eager and spontaneous, exhibited by the American public to the suffering millions in Tokio and Yokohama dispelled entirely whatever apprehensions Japan had gained from the Washington Conference. As Ambassador Hanibara aptly expressed in his eloquent and passionate speech before the Annual Meeting of the American Red Cross at the close of that year, "the Japanese people have a long memory" of gratitude and appreciation of America's magnanimity. There was no ripple in the endless expanse of the Pacific. There was not a cloud in the blue firmament. Peace and good-will reigned everywhere. A new era was born. Hope was high and auspicious for the Far East.

Unfortunately, however, this wholesome atmosphere was destined to be short-lived, if not ephemeral. The first angle was to be demolished by China. This destruction was mainly the result of the misinterpretation, on the part of China, of the real significance of Japan's

acquiescence made at Washington. Coming out of the Conference, Chinese leaders maintained that Japan was an "easy mark" before the international court of justice, particularly before the United States. Many of them, schooled in American Universities, became imbued with the idea or the hope that America will come to their rescue with material assistance in time of need. To their mind, the "Shidehara Diplomacy" of friendship and reconciliation appeared as no other than the decline of Japan's prestige in world politics. Consequently, in a few years after the Washington Conference, they began to adopt the policy of driving Japan's rights and interests out of Manchuria. Especially, since the establishment of the present National Government at Nanking in 1927, the repudiation policy based on the Soviet theory was enforced relentlessly. Thus, it should be borne in mind that in Sino-Japanese relations this period marked the ten years' struggle enacted in the case of "the Shidehara Diplomacy" vs. "the Revolutionary Diplomacy of China."

Baron Shidehara did not make an error when he steadfastly maintained that two and two make four. In his insistence, he produced first his two and expected the other party to come out with the other two. But, he did not realize that the second two would never come his way, unless there was a fair spirit of reciprocity from the other party. Where he erred was not in his mathematical calculation, but in the psychological evaluation. Thus, after exhausting every just means and failing to do justice to his policy, he would have gladly compromised himself, if he could pretend to make two and one make four. Inspired by the so-called high ideals of American policy towards China, which he sensed during his sojourn in the United States, particularly in his associations with Secretary Hughes and others in and outside of the Washington Conference, he returned home to put his theory into practice. Unfortunately, however, his attempt proved utter disillusionment. After all, Baron Shidehara has turned out to be another case of the "returned student," as they put it in the East. Friends of China in Japan as well as in America and Europe will realize before long that this was China's capital misfortune in modern time. History will record that this was one of the greatest blunders she has ever committed in her international life.

However, Japan was not the single party to suffer. Both the United States and Great Britain by turns became the victims. It should be added that, in the act of exploiting China, Russia set her

base of operation in Canton, the backdoor of China which became the hot-bed of Mr. Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionary schemes. Therefore, it is not too much to say that history ordained Soviet Russia, whom the United States ostracized from the Washington Conference, to do much to undo the work of the Conference in the course of ten years.

The second angle was broken down from the American side, because of the two causes: one was the Immigration Question and the other, the Naval Question. The outcome of these two questions was destined to exercise a great influence on the shaping of Japan's Far Eastern policy up to the present moment, the Manchurian Incident of 1931, in particular. The legislation of the Immigration Law of 1924, particularly the extraordinary circumstances under which the new law was passed, shocked the entire Japanese nation. The explosion in the Senate Chamber over the phrase, "grave consequences," which the present writer predicted on the Capital Hill three days before, was a veritable thunderbolt in a clear sky of mid-April of American-Japanese relations. To one who was hurriedly summoned for consultation there was no question that Ambassador Hanibara's tampering with such a dangerous phraseology constituted the greatest amateurish blunder that any professional diplomatist has committed in the annals of modern diplomacy. Although, in American home-politics, this incident was another "passing show" of matching the wits between "the scholar in politics" (Senator Lodge) and "the best legal mind in America" (Secretary Hughes), it proved for Japan to be the turning point in her relations with the United States. The Americans should now realize that ever since this national affront the Japanese mind has been entirely alienated from the American. Rebuffed and forlorn, the Japanese leaders, rightly or wrongly, came to the conclusion of the utter impossibility and impracticability of solving in concert and co-operation with the American nation not only the Immigration Question but also the various questions, commonly known as the problems of the Pacific. There was no other recourse left for them but to adopt in the future an independent action in accordance with their own judgment and resources, regardless of the intention of the United States. This national psychology should be borne in mind by the Americans in their attempt at interpreting Japan's action for the past thirteen years.

If, in the aggravation of the Immigration Question, the Americans can point out the unfortunate slip of pen by a foreign diplomat, they

are reminded of becoming magnanimous to see the mistake committed by their own government in the Naval Question. The ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 of the Naval Treaty, although signifying the maximum limits in an effort to curtail national expenditures of the three Navies, are primarily the embodiment of the theory of "N Square Law," evolved by Mr. Frederick W. Lanchester, a British strategist in the early days of the Great War [*"Aircraft in Warfare"* in *Engineering* (London), September 4th and 11th, 1914], as a result of his exhaustive study of Lord Nelson's tactics at Trafalgar. According to this investigation, the holder of the short end, that is Japan, will be theoretically annihilated in a pitched battle by the holder of the long end, the United States or Great Britain, in the fleeting moment of six or seven minutes.

In the American or British allotment of 1,200,000 tons, there was included an allowance for the penalty of crossing the Pacific Ocean to successfully combat the Japanese Navy of 800,000 tons in the Western Pacific. This was a great Anglo-American scheme—a brain-child of Messrs. Balfour, Root and Hughes. At this juncture, it should be mentioned that the belated study of the significance of "N Square Law" made by the Japanese Navy a few years after the close of the Conference resulted in the emergence of its "die-hard" group in Tokio. This fact appeared to be responsible more than any other factors for finally abrogating the Treaty after both American and British Navies refused Japan's counter-proposal of 5 : 5 : 5 with further qualitative and quantitative reductions. Apropos the naval question, with due consideration of the very nature of armaments either for defence or offence, as well as all other arguments pro or con to the ratios presented, can any Anglo-American knight with a semblance of chivalric spirit demand for himself the 5 to 3 superiority in weapons over his Japanese opponent "on the field of honor?"

Be what it may, although taking a form of self-denying covenant to refrain each of the contracting parties from building its Navy beyond the ratio limit, the Treaty, none the less, had as its ultimate and implied aim, the preservation of peace in the Pacific regions. In the sphere of real politics, it is beyond peradventure that the ratios represented an instrument for preserving the status quo of the Far Eastern Question by a mutual understanding among the three Powers. In other words, the intrinsic value of the Treaty lay in the actual contributions by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan of their

respective allotments, 5 : 5 : 3, to a "jack-pot" for the common welfare. In this sense, it was incumbent upon each of the contracting parties to build up its ratio in due course of time. Therefore, a failure on the part of any one of them, whatever the causes may have been, rendered *ipso facto* the political significance of the Treaty null and void, if not the wilful violation, or the recalcitrance in the execution, of the letter of the Treaty itself.

Now, what was the condition of the American Navy at the time of expiration of the said Treaty on December 31, 1936, fourteen years after the American Delegates affixed their signatures to the now defunct document? The construction program of the American Navy lagged far behind its rational allotment, so much so that even to-day it will require a few years more to reach its allotment. Inasmuch as, in the world politics of to-day, it is well nigh an impossibility to consider the armament question without its effect on the political question, is it not advisable that in the future a specific stipulation should be inserted in any armament treaty, making all the contracting parties obligatory to construct and maintain their respective armaments to the treaty-limits?

Up to this time, mention has been made of the disintegrations of two of the "eternal triangle." The subsequent convulsions of the third angle, that of Japan, ten years after the Washington Conference, was nothing but sequence of a natural law of physics. The disillusionment caused by the unanswered love of Baron Shidehara toward China became the apprehension on the part of the Japanese nation in its future security. On the other hand, America's failure in the construction of her naval ratio gave a free hand to Japan for the simple reason that the Japanese Army can have a full play on the Asiatic Continent only when her Navy can defend her from the attack by the American Navy in the eastern seas. (In 1931, both Navies had approximately the same tonnage, 800,000 tons. Japanese Navy was "well-balanced.") Further, what led Japan's action to the great venture on the continent was also due to the disappearance, in world politics, of Russia as a great military Power in East Asia. Therefore, students of the Far Eastern Question will realize, sooner or later, the following formula in the political drama of Manchuria in 1931 and after.

China's Provocation	}	+ Japan's Action = China—Manchuria.
America's Failure		
Russia's Eclipse		

Coached in both the European and American technique of expansion in world politics, Japan sided the separatist movement in Manchuria. The result was the establishment of an independent state of Manchoukuo which she nurses with a fostering care. This policy at least exonerated her legally from being accused as a violator of the "respect" clause of the Chinese territorial integrity under the First Article of the Nine-Power Treaty.

Again, the non-recognition policy of Manchoukuo, inaugurated by the American Government and sponsored by all the members of the League of Nations, has become little or no deterrence to Japan's work as "a civilizing agent" and "a pathfinder" in Manchuria. As a matter of fact, Japan has never shown any impatience at the delay in bestowing grace on her child by the outsiders. The American nation, it is to be admitted, which recognized its own illegitimate child of Panama in the brief span of ten days, will naturally indulge itself in years of gossip and scandals of the other child born under more or less similar circumstances.

The pending undeclared war between Japan and China was precipitated in the suburbs of Peking, July 7th of this year, by the Chinese who have been engaged in a vigorous "anti-Japanism" policy. In a few weeks, the conflagration spread to Shanghai as in 1932. This warfare is attracting the attention of the world in general and of America in particular. This is attributable to two reasons: America's traditional attitude in the Far Eastern Question as referred to at the outset of this article on one hand, and on the other, China's pathetic appeal to the Americans by the Chinese leaders in their pursuit of the traditional policy of inviting the third party. The hue and cry of propaganda and counter-propaganda carried on both by the Chinese and the Japanese in this country brought about the resultant upheavals in the psychology of the Americans as during the World War. However, viewed from a height whence a broader outlook is obtained, one is struck by the extraordinary similarity in the four causes of the event of 1931 and those of the present crisis. As a matter of fact, the causes of the latter are an identical repetition of those of the former. In other words, the whole situation is the exact re-enactment of the conflict of seven years ago in its conception, its execution, and its probable consequences. History seldom repeats itself with such rare precision. Thus, the formula with four causes shown above in the interpretation of international politics during

the Manchurian Incident can be applied to the present crisis. The only difference will be the right side of the equation brought about by the shifting of scenes of conflict from Manchuria to North China. Whether the final outcome of the present crisis becomes "China-North China" in place of "China-Manchuria" of former years or not is still to be seen.

The remarkable similarity in the causes of the two cases can be noted also in the agency seeking the settlement of the disputes—the United States and the League of Nations. The function of the League of Nations as a debating society, with which the United States aligned herself unwittingly for the second time, was not conducive to the restoration of peace in the Far East. Japan declined to attend the Brussels Conference, because of the hostile attitude of the League of Nations. As a consequence, the Delegates at Brussels found themselves in a most pitiful plight. Its abortive end on November 24 without any constructive results was a sort of "Love's Labour Lost" with much ado. Thus, to-day, despite the Seventh Article of the Nine-Power Treaty, the United States has lost again a golden opportunity to be a mediator at Washington. Aside from Japan's adamant determination to deal directly with China, there is a mistake, if not a blunder, on the part of the United States in exhibiting a certain degree of animosity towards Japan as shown in the President's speech at Chicago, October 5, and the statement made by the State Department endorsing the League of Nations against Japan on the following day,—not to speak of Mr. Stimson's accusation of "this headstrong little nation" about that time. This is primarily attributable to their miscomprehension of the psychology of the Japanese nation. No doubt, in the spring of 1895, Japan receded from her position at the intervention of Russia, Germany, and France. Forty years since, with Japan's building of a World-Power accomplished, however, it is the height of folly to expect to intimidate her with that Western psychology of the last years of the last century.

With the memories of the Manchurian Incident still vivid, the United States at least, if not the nations of Europe, ought to have been benefited by the lesson gleaned from sad experiences at Geneva when Mr. Matsuoka registered Japan's displeasure by his brisk exit from the League a few years ago. It might present a moot question as to whether there has been a diplomacy for the Far East for the

last score of years in that massive structure in Washington known as "Muller's Masterpiece." But one cannot help becoming reminiscent of the political insight which President Theodore Roosevelt exhibited in those early days when he once cautioned his people with these ringing words: He does not believe in the United States "taking any position anywhere unless we can make good" and as regards Manchuria if the Japanese choose to follow a course of conduct to which we are averse, we cannot stop it unless we are prepared to go to war." To-day, Japan, as an embodiment of that philosophy, "The Light Comes from the East," stands at the threshold of Asia with the newly enunciated doctrine of "Paix Japonaise."

At this juncture one should not lose sight of the two important attitudes, American and Japanese, which will exercise no small influence in shaping future events not only in China but in the Pacific in general: first, the growing apprehension on the part of the United States at the prospect of enhancement of Japan's prestige in world politics after she secured a firm hold on enormous natural resources both in Manchuria and North China; secondly, the realization and diffusion among the Japanese, of the significance of the obstruction policy of the United States with which they have been confronted time and again since the close of the Russo-Japanese War. It appears that the Japanese are not much concerned with whether America's Monroe Doctrine turned out to be an "obsolete shibboleth" or not. The recent and sporadic demand for Asia's Monroe Doctrine by them is, (it should be remembered, at once the outburst of the Japanese attitude and is no other than Japan's invocation of the *cis-Pacific* principle against the United States which is parallel to the *cis-Atlantic* principle embraced in the original Monroe Doctrine of 1823 against Europe.

The Chinese leaders at Nanking and abroad who previously had the blessings of American education, naturally look to America's assistance in time of emergency. Unfortunately, however, any student in world politics knows that the United States, for obvious reasons which do not necessitate enumeration here, is not in a position to come to their rescue. Moreover, it is a well-known historical fact that in winter, 1931, the sentimentality of the Chinese leaders to America together with their attention to the tempting whisper of America made them evade Japan's offer of direct negotiation with a

promise of returning three Provinces to China. This attitude ultimately resulted in the loss of Manchuria, because Japan, after her protracted campaigns, was forced to evaluate the issue in a broader view of the international situation then developed. Therefore, it is not too much to say that the net result of the intervention by the United States and the League of Nations was largely responsible for the disintegration of the "territorial integrity of China" in Manchuria. Then, is it an indiscretion on the part of the present writer to question the wisdom of both the United States and the League of Nations in encouraging the Chinese again to hope against hope at Brussels recently? Further, is it an audacity on his part to ask both the Americans and the Chinese to pause and consider whether or not American education of Chinese leaders did really prove to be beneficial, at least in the field of international politics, to the best interest of China up to the present?

The re-examination of the Far Eastern Question should not be dismissed without reference to the Nine-Power Treaty which has become the subject-matter for general discussion for the second time. In his recent letter to the *New York Times* (October 6th), Mr. Stimson, former Secretary of State, pointed out: "The United States and Great Britain agreed to limit the size of their fleets and to refrain from further fortifications in the Far East in reliance upon the Japanese agreement (on the Nine-Power Treaty) to leave China alone and thus to preserve the opportunities of other nations for peaceful commerce with China." This is what he, as Secretary of State, termed the "interrelation" and "interdependence" of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Naval Treaty in his letter of February 24, 1932, to Senator Borah, then the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

As the present writer had an occasion to deal fully with the question at that time (*The Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Treaty* (1932), pp. 19-21), suffice it here to make a brief quotation therefrom. The Nine-Power Treaty was nothing but the restatement of various treaties then existing among the Powers. The only improvement of importance was the inclusion of China, making her obligatory for the first time for its stipulations. There was no quality attached to it to be utilized for bargaining purposes, either in or after its making. This was the reason why the Treaty, which needed little more than the labor required for its drafting, became the first fruit of

the Conference. It was consummated on December 10, 1921, five days before the first session of the "Committee of Fifteen on Naval Limitation" started its initial work Thus, for a time, both Japan and the United States were employing 'eye-for-eye' and 'tooth-for-tooth' tactics. Should any 'deal' have been made later, it was accomplished by interrelating and interdepending the Naval Treaty on the Four-Power Treaty of December 13th, which guaranteed the status quo of their insular possessions and dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean, but not by predicating the Naval Treaty upon the Nine-Power Treaty."

However, granting for the sake of argument, Mr. Stimson is right in his "interrelation" and "interdependence" theory, then, where is the *raison d'être* of the Nine-Power Treaty, to-day, in view of the fact that the Naval Treaty was 'gone with the wind' one year ago? It is needless to add that the "interrelation" and "interdependence" of the two subjects presupposes their co-existence.

A more serious question is Mr. Stimson's doctrine of indefinite patience being demanded from Japan in order "to leave China alone," as above quoted. Does he mean that the Nine-Power Treaty has made China a 'chartered libertine,' free to attack Japan without her having any right to repel the attack? In all diplomatic discussions of controversies arising between Japan and the United States, the Japanese insist that the Americans should become more retrospective in order to be more enlightened, particularly when the latter attempt to come to the affairs of the Far East. Therefore, it is with a mixture of sentiments that the Japanese, in their effort for elucidation, come to cite an American example as an object lesson to the Americans. On March 24, 1936 the Nationalist Army of China pillaged the American Consulate at Nanking and massacred one American and maltreated a few others. Immediately, American Naval forces in the harbor went into action on the pre-arranged signals from the Consulate and in retaliation bombarded the city. This was done in accordance with "the fundamental duty of the United States to protect the lives and property of its citizens," as stated to the Chinese Government by Mr. Kellogg, then the Secretary of State, who was Mr. Stimson's immediate predecessor in the State Department.

This fact has clearly demonstrated that, in the Nine-Power Treaty (as in the Kellogg-Briand Treaty) the signatory Powers did not sign away their sovereign rights to protect themselves against

China's provocations. Therefore, the theory of indefinite patience as advanced by Mr. Stimson is devoid of its practical application not only by the Japanese Government, but also by his own Government. Moreover, such a precept is not only highly detrimental to the maintenance of peace in the society of nations, as it is constituted at present, but also greatly prejudicial to the welfare of human society in general. A study of the Chinese phrase, "Soon Sing Zin" (*Sōjō-no-jin* in Japanese, meaning ill-placed leniency or mistaken benevolence), it is to be added, will furnish the former Secretary of State with a thought-provoking incident, illustrating what his supercilious policy of indefinite patience led to in the juxtaposition of several war lords in Chinese history fifteen centuries ago.

It is common knowledge that China of post-Washington Conference is not what was envisaged by the Delegates assembled at Washington. Here arises the question of cancellation or voidability of the Nine-Power Treaty under the principle of international law, which is technically known as the doctrine of "*Robus sic Standibus*." "Neither party to a contract (of a treaty)," states Hall, "can make its binding effect dependent at his will upon conditions other than those contemplated at the moment when the contract was entered into, and on the other hand a contract ceases to be binding as soon as anything which formed an implied condition of its obligatory force at the time of its conclusion is essentially altered." (W. E. Hall: *A Treatise on International Law* (1924), p. 407.)

Now, when, after the Washington Conference, by adopting her repudiation policy of Japanese rights and interests in Manchuria before 1931 and by pursuing vigorously the anti-Japanese policy throughout the country up to 1937, the Chinese Government violated both the letter and spirit of the Nine-Power Treaty, which was concluded with the specific object of "desiring to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity," as stated in its Preamble. Under these circumstances, the Japanese Government, as Premier Prince Konoye expressed his opinion in his interview on November 26th, should have sent its official notification to the American Government as the custodian of the Treaty, making Washington an international Reno, thereby, divorcing Japan from China on the equitable ground of incompatibility under the provisions of the Treaty or on the justifiable ground of suffering extreme mental

cruelty under the persecution of "anti-Japanism," or both. The American Government could not have failed without inconsistency to free Japan from the contractual obligations, because the doctrine of "Rebus sic Standibus" had been recognized in 1913 by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Charlton vs. Kelley* (229 U. S. 447).

Nevertheless, in the actualities of world politics, so far as Japan is concerned, the Nine-Power Treaty is long dead—as dead as the door nail of the Continental Memorial Hall where it was once promulgated with pomp and splendour. The sudden enthusiasm and concern recently exhibited by the "keepers" of the Nine-Power Treaty at Brussels—if it is still alive at all—will perhaps remind the readers of this article of the words of Shakespeare through the soliloquy of Romeo:

"How oft when men are at the point of death,
Have they been merry! which their keepers call
A lightening before death."

In conclusion, the "Pacific Era" which President Theodore Roosevelt predicted at the Golden Gate, at the opening of the century, is unfolded in full view to-day. The solution of the question depends perhaps entirely on the sum-total of the statesmanship of international vision of the Americans, the Chinese and the Japanese.

MODERN TRENDS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY*

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ANTHROPOLOGY is generally defined as the science of man. It started as an attempt to interpret the culture of the human race but its point of view was that of the European observing the rest of mankind.¹ It began as a study of savage and semi-savage peoples but in course of its development it came to a realisation that even the civilised peoples of Europe and Asia could not be excluded from a scientific study of culture as an integral developing whole. Prof. Malinowski's reorientation of cultural anthropology as a study of man at all levels of culture is extremely significant.²

With the discovery of the Americas and the explorations of new lands, for settlement or exploitation, the European races came in touch with the savage and semi-savage peoples whose life and institutions appeared quaint and grotesque to a people whose outlook at that time was decidedly narrow and parochial. The belief in the descent of man from a single pair raised a problem of the greatest significance, that of harmonizing the knowledge about the primitive world with the established notions of life and conduct of the age. Various theories about the relation of the savage people with the civilised races were suggested and for a time it became a fashion to study primitive life. Explorers, missionaries, traders, merchants and colonists who were in contact with primitive races, started writing about them and a rich crop of literature on savage society was the result.

The accounts of savage societies which began to pour in made one thing clear to the European world, that all these newly discovered peoples were pagans. The Christian Church therefore came forward with a new zeal for service and thus commerce, politics and religion joined hands and encouraged systematic investigation into the nature

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¹ Wislizen. *Introduction to Social Anthropology*, pp. 3-4.

² B. Malinowski. Article on Cultural Anthropology, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 99-101, 13th Edition.

of primitive society. With the Church, the state and trade equally interested in these newly discovered peoples, the study of primitive peoples became an important subject and of immediate interest. In the earlier days the Church was however actuated by a desire to reclaim and rescue the savage races from heathenism, and thus for a time, discovery and exploration received the blessings of the Church. As the Church monopolised learning the best minds were among its devotees so that to the missionaries we owe our first important knowledge of primitive society.³

As the data about primitive peoples began to accumulate, their interpretation was taken up by anthropologists and social psychologists. Spencer's attempt to apply the theory of evolution to interpret cultural progress led to an indiscriminate use of ethnological materials by his followers and for a time ethnologists and sociologists were engaged in tracing the evolution of human institutions from crude beginnings. For the principal social and domestic institutions, Morgan postulated an elaborate scheme of hypothetical stages of human progress from a supposed stage of consanguine or Malayan family based on the supposed inter-marriage of brothers and sisters in a group, to Punaluan or Hawaiian family founded upon the supposed inter-marriage of several brothers, own or collateral, to each other's wives in a group of several sisters, own or collateral, to each other's husbands in a group; Syndasian or pairing family founded upon the marriage of a male with a female under the form of marriage but without exclusive cohabitation, to patriarchal family or the marriage of one man to several wives, and finally the monogamian family founded upon marriage between single pairs.⁴ Thus according to Morgan no fewer than fifteen normal stages in the evolution of marriage and the family must have preceded a knowledge of marriage between single pairs and of the family itself in the modern sense of the term.

The basic idea of all evolutionary schemes of social or cultural progress is that of a regular series of gradually advancing stages based on the uniformity of the workings of the human mind which enabled different human groups, to produce in similar conditions the same inventions and to develop similar institutions from the same germs of

³ Wislizenus, *Introduction to Social Anthropology*, pp. 5-6.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society: Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*.

Also *Man in India*, 1927.

thought or "elementary ideas". "Like the successive geological formations," says Morgan, "the tribes of mankind may be arranged according to their relative conditions into successive strata." This stratification of human society rests largely on the application of the principle of survival. There are certain customs which are vestigial forms or remaining traces of earlier customs. They cannot be explained by their present utility but are only intelligible through their past history. There are other customs which cannot be explained by present circumstances but persist in isolation from the original context.⁵ All these are treated as survivals and through them the evolutionists have reconstructed hypothetical past ages. In our everyday life we meet with customs and practices which are often useless from the utilitarian point of view and are only expressions of emotional states, and should not be taken as survivals. The indiscriminate use of the principle of survival has led to a crop of generalisations regarding the origin and development of social institutions, and the social anthropologists of today find it increasingly difficult to uphold them in the light of their new knowledge about primitive life and institutions.

The rigid determinism and the too absolute classification of the earlier evolutionist school which does not consider the effects of tribal migrations and the methods by which culture is transmitted from people to people, was soon found to be incompatible with known sociological facts. Similar culture traits may not have sprung from the same cause and the history of the world civilisation makes it abundantly clear that different racial groups have progressed in diverse directions and the same race partakes of different cultures in the same as well as different geographical environments. The doctrine of an unilinear development of human society from savagery to barbarism and barbarism to civilisation, from promiscuity to group marriage and group marriage to monogamous family life, from the hunting to pastoral, pastoral to agricultural, agricultural to handicraft and to the industrial type of economic life, is today found to be untenable in view of our present knowledge of the social and economic life of simpler folks all over the world. The economic stages and the social strata cannot be regarded always as sequential but may often be the result of a number of factors taking different roots in different regions. Progress has not been uninterrupted but shows an irregular alternation of progress and retrogression.

⁵ R. B. Marrett. *Psychology and Folklore*, pp. 4-5.

As Dr. Lowie puts it, "civilization is a planless hodge-podge, a thing of shreds and patches to which its historian can no longer yield superstitious reverence."

The unscientific habit of stretching evolutionary generalisations too far led to a revolt against the orthodox evolutionary school and a number of scholars foremost of whom were Friedrich Latzel, E. Reclus, Graebner, Foy, Trobenius, Ehrenreich and Pater Schmidt began to explain cultural resemblances or parallels not by the postulate of fundamental similarity of operations of the human mind all over the world but by the recorded facts of direct transmission from one group of people to another either through chance contact and borrowing or through more intimate blending of cultures (Kultur Kries) or racial admixture leading later on to the concept of culture areas. This new school which is known as the German or historical school, began to concentrate on differences rather than on similarities and did not consider parallels unless they could be definitely traced to borrowing. Though Tylor in England did not deny the possibility of cultural contacts in the evolution of social institutions, Dr. Rivers had been the first to call pointed attention to the inadequacy of the psychological hypothesis of the fundamental similarity of the working of the human mind to explain by itself the uniformity of customs and institutions in different parts of the globe.⁶ He acknowledged the important part played by cultural contact and the mixture of races. Elliot Smith⁷, Dr. A. C. Haddon and others in England have recognised the importance of racial miscegenation and the blending of cultures. Dr. Rivers, however, did not underestimate the importance of the psychological hypothesis or the psychological study of customs and institutions, but he emphasised the need of combining both the psychological and historical perspectives. The French anthropologists generally agree with the evolutionist school, but the sociological school of France prefers to substitute the psychology of the group in place of the psychology of the individual.⁸ According to them the origin and development of customs and institutions should be explained not by a reference to individual psychic phenomena but to what they term 'the social

⁶ Lowie. *Primitive Society*, Introduction.

⁷ E. B. Tylor. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, p. 5.

⁸ W. H. R. Rivers. *Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association*, 1911.

⁹ G. Elliot Smith. *The Diffusion of Culture*, p. 5.

¹⁰ E. Durkheim. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*.

mind. Social tradition and public opinion exercise tremendous influence on the life and conduct of the individual and thus all cultural and social phenomena and their development can best be understood and interpreted through the adaptive processes of the social life implicit in the social mind.

Just as the comparative or the evolutionist school traced all cultural progress to simple and crude beginnings, the historical school or its counterpart, the diffusionist school traced all culture to race admixture and borrowing. The extreme section of the latter, refused to recognise the important rôle of the human mind and regarded the dogma of the similarity of the working of the human mind as 'an amazing psychological speculation' and a 'flimsy travesty of psychology'.¹¹ It must however be credited to the diffusionists that they did not deny the absolute impossibility of a custom or belief being invented twice independently or that of similar cultural elements developing simultaneously or independently in different parts of the world but they held that they did not possess any evidence of such cases. Therefore theoretically the diffusionists agree to the assumption of independent origins, yet they take it for granted that similar customs among different peoples living in the same neighbourhood or widely separated regions, are derived from some common source and have spread due to migrations or social intercourse.

The arguments against the diffusionist school have been ably summarised by Dr. Lowie and his criticism that the diffusionists show a lack of power of discrimination will be endorsed by all.¹² So far as the larger and more complex inventions are concerned, the diffusionists are on *terra firma*. As Prof. Kroeber puts it,¹³ if a trait is composed of several elements which stand in no necessary relation to each other, and these several elements recur among distinct or remote peoples in the same combination, whereas on the basis of mere accident it could be expected that the several elements would at times combine and at other times crop out separately, one can be reasonably sure of the real identity and common origin of the complex trait. But what about the inventions of simpler kinds, inventions that can be explained by the logic of the material and the logic of the environment? Prof.

¹¹ G. E. Smith. *The Diffusion of Culture*.

¹² R. H. Lowie. *Primitive Society*, Introduction.

¹³ A. L. Kroeber. *Anthropology*, p. 190. Quoted by Prof. Westermarck in his Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1935.

Westermarck ¹⁴ says, "It seems to me truly grotesque to assume that borrowing is the case with such widespread or universal culture elements as, for instance, the right of property, punishment, the blood-feud, the various forms of marriage, the prohibition of marriage between parents and children and between brothers and sisters and other exogamous rules, slavery, a multitude of magical and religious practices and beliefs and so forth *ad infinitum*." It is not impossible that many of the elements which constitute the trait-complexes referred to above, could be traced to borrowing. In our experience of field investigations, we have found many alien traits incorporated into the traditional pattern of a culture in such a way that the traits although introduced from some alien and highly developed culture have lost their novelty and have acquired a primitive or infantile character in the course of their assimilation by the cultures concerned, so that the foreign origin of these traits could only be suggested with great difficulty.

In the primitive stages of our art and civilisation, man has responded to the environment more and his life and habits bear the stamp of his habitat. In the grass lands of Central Asia, we find the nomad Khirgiz who has responded completely to his environment. Since grass is the chief resource of his land, he keeps domestic animals, such as sheep, cows, horses or camels. Since each family needs many animals the grass in one place is eaten up in a month or two. Moreover as the best kind of grass grows in the high plateau where it is deeply buried in snow except for three or four months in summer, the practicable mode of life is pastoral nomadism. In summer the Khirgiz is in the high plateaus among the mountains with his flocks and herds but as winter approaches the animals must gradually be driven downward to the lowest valleys and out upon the plains where hay has been stored and where relatively permanent camps are occupied for three or four months in mid-winter.¹⁵ The Kukis, another nomadic tribe living in the jungles of Hill Tipperah to the south-east of Bengal, afford another example of the interdependence of habitat, economy and society. The large bamboo forests which constitute his country, supply him with materials for his shelter, the articles for his domestic

¹⁴ E. Westermarck, *Methods in Social Anthropology*, J. R. A. I., Vol. LXVI, July-Dec. 1936, p. 231.

¹⁵ Huntington and Cushing, *Human Geography*, pp. 12-15.

use, his musical instruments, his weapons of offence and defence and even his inspiration for religion. The virgin forests still make it possible for him to practise the wasteful Jhum cultivation and his life and habits are the product of his environment. Thus each particular type of geographical environment nurtures a particular type of culture and in the earlier stages of social organisation, the difficulty of overcoming the forces of the environment was indeed great. Thus similar economic life among simpler folk in different regions may therefore be explained by the factors of human geography.

When we come to the non-material aspects of life we find resemblances which can better be explained by the similar working of the human mind. The creation myths of the primitive people all over the world resemble in many essential details and a few types of myths recur among all primitive societies. These serve some useful purpose and are meant to define how life was obtained in the beginning and how fresh supply of life and of vital energy could be secured in times of danger or crisis. Thus if we want to explain the origin and development of social institutions, we must take both these factors into consideration, diffusion as well as independent evolution and a healthy combination of the two perspectives will solve most of the problems of origin.

Unfortunately the difficulty of a rapprochement between these schools of thought, and the methodological vagaries of their exponents have led to a reaction against all hypotheses about the origins of social institutions. A new school of Anthropology has come into being recently, which carefully avoids all discussion of hypotheses as to historical origins and 'rejects as being no part of its task the hypothetical reconstruction of the unknown past.'¹⁶ This is the functional school of anthropology of which the chief exponents today are Prof. Radcliffe-Brown of Oxford and Prof. Bronislaw Malinowski of London.

The functional school looks at any culture as an integral system and studies the functions of social institutions, customs and beliefs of all kinds as parts of such a system. Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and Prof. B. Malinowski¹⁷ have developed a method of investigation, the object of

¹⁶ Radcliffe-Brown. Presidential Address to Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1931.

¹⁷ B. Malinowski. *The sexual life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia*, also see Article on Cultural Anthropology in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vols. 39-50, 13th Edition; *Law and Order in Polynesia* by Hagen—Introduction by Prof. Malinowski.

which is to give an accurate picture of the individual in the whole complex as well as at all levels of the society in which he lives. According to Prof. Radcliffe-Brown, the function of the anthropologist is to deduce and formulate general laws governing the structure of primitive societies, rather than to collect and describe the peculiarities and antics of primitive and backward peoples. "Anthropology" Prof. Malinowski holds, "seeks to discover the rôle of specific customs and rites in primitive society in its particular environment. Culture is a complicated piece of machinery, the various parts of the machine are interlocked and have to work in unison or the machine becomes useless. Each part is also of no use by itself, it can do nothing except to assist the whole to function." Anthropology in the words of Prof. Malinowski does not look at the details of culture in order to appraise them as details, but examines them to see how and why they work, how they fit into the whole pattern, what is the motive behind them and finally to reveal how these are co-ordinated in a working and living system. Social institutions according to this school of thought must be studied as they actually function in a concrete environment and in relation to the fundamental cultural needs they satisfy.

It is doubtful, however, that any amount of emphasis on the functional method will make it the all important, as it is certain that the earlier schools cannot be superseded.¹⁸ Besides, it is necessary that all the three schools should work together to unravel the mystery of social life in all its ramifications and levels. The work of all the three schools should be complementary and an anthropologist should comprehend all the methods if he is to interpret human life and its motivation. Alexander Lesser in his article on Functionalism in Social Anthropology,¹⁹ defined functional relations and showed the impossibility of divorcing methods of determining such relations from a recognition of historicity as a basic condition of events. Radcliffe-Brown's rejoinder²⁰ restated his view of the objective of the functional approach as the description of the relation of institutions to the maintenance of the organic or structural units of a society. This statement, however, should not be construed as precluding the

¹⁸ T. K. Penniman. *A Hundred years of Anthropology*, Introduction.

¹⁹ A. Lesser. Article on Functionalism in Social Anthropology in *American Anthropologist* 37 : 326.

²⁰ Radcliffe-Brown. Rejoinder to the above, *American Anthropologist* 37 : 324.

necessity of pursuing the causal interpretation of cultural data or the diffusion of traits through contact and migrations. But this is certain that the functional school may claim to have established anthropology as a practical science and the necessity of anthropological studies on the cultural side has become urgent and vital.

Another important approach to the study of culture is that of Dr. Ruth Benedict.²¹ Dr. Benedict has described behaviour and institutions in terms of integral cultural configurations. This method may be taken as the *gestalt* approach in social anthropology. It is concerned rather with the discovery of the fundamental attitudes than with the functional relations of every cultural item.²² In her analysis of savage life, customs and institutions, she has stressed more on the reactions of the personality to the social framework, its attitudes, inhibitions and fulfilments rather than on the scaffolding. She has pointed out that a culture like an individual is more or less a consistent pattern of thought and action and that within each culture there are characteristic purposes which stabilise behaviour and consolidate experience. The one supreme value of the concept of a pattern or *gestalt* is that it enables us to fix upon a selective agency for new traits. But the difference between Malinowski's and Benedict's methodology consists in the fact that whereas the first is concerned with the functional adaptation both inside and outside a scheme of culture, the latter is primarily interested in its ethos. This does not create any great difference in the technical method of observation nor in the fundamental purpose of study, which is that of the individual living in active association of give and take with his group and its norms.

The study of native cultures in Africa, Australia, New Guinea and New Zealand, has an importance much greater perhaps than it is realised today. The administrator wants to rule the native races, the missionary wants to convert them to Christianity. Both are impossible without a first hand knowledge of native languages and cultures. Both require an intelligent appreciation of the spirit of native cultures. Misunderstandings and difficulties have arisen in the past and do arise in the present due to an ignorance of primary as well as fundamental native institutions. Travellers, missionaries and amateur investigators

²¹ Dr. Ruth Benedict. *Patterns of Culture*, Introduction.

²² *Ibid.*, Prof. F. Boas's Foreword.

have added much to such difficulties by their crude generalisations and their interested exposure of curious and fantastic native traits divorced from their original context. The trained anthropologist of today, with the help of the developed technique of field investigation finds it possible to analyse the constituents of the cultures without prejudice or bias and explain the functions that they perform in respective cultures. This has brought to light real and practical problems of life which require our sympathetic handling.

Anthropologists can and do help the administrator by pointing out the real values of social institutions and their claim to recognition. It is desirable that every social institution should be studied in relation to the life and conduct of social groups and its value as an instrument of social welfare should be clearly interpreted. It is by this method that social groups may be helped to adapt themselves where they are failing to do so and any wholesale condemnation of apparently archaic or meaningless customs and beliefs should be resisted, so that they may not be swept off their feet by other dynamic cultures. The process of adaptation must necessarily be slow and gradual, and this can be secured if a discriminative test is applied to their institutions so that those that possess social value may be preserved and those that are useless or detrimental to their interests may be abandoned.

Difficulties arise when we are asked what would be the standard of judgment, how are we to judge whether a particular institution is desirable or not from the point of view of a particular social group. We are apt to apply our own canons of right and wrong, duties and obligations, reciprocity and utility, to ascertain the value of alien institutions. It is true that some such difficulty does exist, but it is not insurmountable. Ideas about sanitation, hygiene, medical attention should be diffused among the backward classes and even if they destroy the indigenous institutions the purpose is laudable no doubt. For it is well nigh certain that the spirits of the ancestors cannot compete indefinitely with the natural sciences. Witchcraft can assuage fears temporarily but the accumulated knowledge of medical experience must eventually conquer. Social laws and usages, institutions of marriage, family and education should be supplemented but not suppressed so long as they tend to contribute to social harmony and communal concord. If an institution like child marriage appears to be beneficial for a particular community, and if it is not associated with any of the intemperate manifestations which from social as well

as medical points of view are detrimental to the health and welfare of the community, it must be protected and preserved from the encroachment of reformers and overzealous missionaries. If polygyny is prejudicial to the interests of the society, *i.e.*, its effects are disastrous on the social and economic life of the groups practising it, it should be suppressed by all means, but the method of doing so, should be as unprovocative and harmless as our ingenuity may devise.

Social anthropology has, therefore, much to do in Africa, Australia and other countries where primitive populations dwell in large number. As Prof. Westermann candidly writes,²² "Today and for a long time to come, the fate of Africa is indissolubly linked with that of the white race. Africa will become what Europe and America make of it. Under the complicated conditions of modern life, Africans are not in a position to take their future into their own hands, nor is Europe disposed to surrender its control over Africa. The great riches of raw material, both vegetable and mineral, as well as the capacity of Africa for consuming European goods, surpass even the hopes entertained at the time of the beginning of the colonial era but the enterprise and capital of Europe and America are indispensable both for the exploitation of these riches and for setting up the regular exchange of goods between the two continents." Thus the economic development and exploitation of Africa form an indispensable argument for clash and fusion of cultures in Africa and the most efficient method is to reduce the amount of friction between the two diverse cultures, while at the same time developing the undeveloped resources of the land and creating a system of exchange for trade and manufactures. Missionaries, administrators and traders have been responsible for transferring indiscriminately to Africa, the institutions and customs of their own country without any real grasp of the peculiar cultural problems that exist there, and they have committed mistakes and misunderstandings the gravity of which no one would seriously question.

We have explained the function of social anthropology in those areas where the destiny of a continent or a country has been handed over into the whiteman's hand. But the facts in India suggest a different problem. It is true that India's destiny has been linked with that of Great Britain. But every student of culture will admit the great difference between Africa and India, so far as the effects of culture

²² Westermann *Africa To-day*.

contacts go. Africa is inhabited by a backward people. India possesses a very old culture which she has nourished and maintained against heavy odds. Political authority has passed from race to race, from invader to invader but the core of Indian life and aspirations has not been very much shaken. Although India presents a blended culture its configuration has not undergone any significant modifications. It is more or less abiding and it has absorbed and assimilated traits introduced from diverse societies in accordance with its spirit. The fundamental attitudes or ethos which possess a hoary antiquity and a sacro-sanctness seldom realised elsewhere, are found in their proper perspectives not only in remote and inaccessible hills and fastnesses but they are to be met in the towns and cities of palaces, in the lap of luxury as well as in the hovels of the hapless. As Sir Herbert Risley wrote, "Here (in India) we have before our eyes a society in many respects still primitive, which preserves like a palimpsest manuscript, survivals of immemorial antiquity. In a land where all things always are the same we are justified in concluding that what is happening now, must have happened very much in the same way, throughout the earlier stages of human society in India."²⁴ It is true, that changes in social and economic environment have been brought about by the tremendous improvement in communications, by the impact of western civilisation, by migrations and race admixture and "what is happening now" may not have happened in the same way in the earlier days, but it is remarkable how persistently we still cling to our old traditions and age-long ideals. Adaptation is the key to social progress and every society if it wants to survive must necessarily adapt itself to changed socio-economic environments. The days of self-sufficiency are irrevocably gone. Custom has yielded to competition and the social groups must take part in the economic struggle if they want to live and transmit their knowledge and achievements to the succeeding generations. This new situation which is a necessary consequence of the dominant economic system of today, has led to the maladaptation of many social groups and have introduced discomforts among others.

The tribal groups in India who have so long persisted in their existence and have not been wiped out of existence as in many new countries on account of contacts with superior groups, are faced today with the problem of extinction. The census figures of 1931 give abun-

²⁴ H. H. Risley, *Peoples of India*, Chapter on Physical Types, page 4.

dant proof of a wholesale disintegration of culture among many of the backward communities leading to an absence of interest in life and an apathy to procreate and perpetuate their kind, so that depopulation has started among many tribal groups. Where primitive groups have not been protected by special legislation from unscrupulous traders, merchants, itinerant vendors of foreign merchandise and money-lenders, they show a decline in their number. But where the tribes live under a protected form of administration, however strong the forces of impact might have been, they have adapted themselves to changed conditions and have even increased in number. The Mundas, the Hos and many other groups in Chota Nagpur, who live in protected areas or who have been materially assisted by philanthropic agencies, have not only preserved their indigenous cultural pattern but have increased in number. On the other hand, the Todas, the Kotas of the Madras Presidency, the Khonds of the Ganjam Agency tracts, the Korwas of Mirzapur, U. P., and most of the Naga tribes of Assam show a decline in their number.

Although the effects of lethal, sexual, reproductive, social and group selections have not been accurately estimated or evaluated we know that there are certain factors which are usually regarded as of great significance in hastening the exit of races and tribes. These are imported diseases, high ratio of males, abortion, loss of ambition in life and apathy to tribal traditions. As the struggle for existence among the primitive tribes has become keener, natural selection appears to be operating more drastically through the elimination of the weaker, the less resistant or the less well adapted individuals and strains. It is here that the social anthropologist may give a lead, he can study the forces of the socio-economic environment of backward communities, and explain the functions of the indigenous social institutions of the groups concerned. This will certainly help to evaluate the importance of primitive social institutions and to adopt remedial measures for the discontinuance of practices which are adding to tribal discomforts. An example or two may be given here to show in what way the modern anthropologist can be of use to the people he undertakes to study.

There are certain tribes in Chota Nagpur Plateau who follow the customary practice of bride purchase. The bride is paid for and the bride-price has become so high that young men of these tribes are finding it increasingly difficult to marry, consequently there are many men who are leading solitary life and there are girls who remain unwed.

Marriage by capture is today the most popular means of securing mate. As there are hundreds of spinsters, the alien people in the neighbourhood are taking advantage of this iniquitous social custom and are luring these girls to a life of shame and misery.³⁵ If a custom like bride-price is responsible for such a social problem, is it not in the interest of the tribe to see that the custom is abandoned, however old and sanctified it may be? Here also the anthropologist can be of great service to the tribes concerned.

Child marriage is an institution of traditional antiquity in India. It is sanctioned by the *shastras*, its observance is regarded as a religious duty by many. It is difficult to reconstruct the history of this cultural trait, for opinions are not unanimous even among the Hindu law-givers. It has certainly gained importance on account of the clash of cultures between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. Many would explain its introduction in the present form as a safeguard against the violation of domestic sanctity by invading aliens. Whatever might be the cause of the origin of this institution, it has been condemned for obvious reasons. Its abandonment therefore is regarded by many as a right step toward social progress. But no systematic attempt has been made yet to study the nature of this institution and the functions it performs in the social and domestic economy of the groups practising it. Child marriage is certainly not bad if it is not synonymous with cohabitation. On the other hand its practice helps a patrilineal agricultural community to function most efficiently. The young girl comes to the family of her husband, where she is more or less adopted. She is more an asset than a liability; she is an agricultural labourer and a domestic help. She imbibes by association the spirit of the family and the patrilineal group. She identifies herself with the family and transforms herself into part and parcel of the social group. Her interest in the family is more than that of her relation with the husband. She learns the accumulated traditions of the family and the group and serves to transfer them to her children and thus maintain the continuity of cultural progress. She is the greatest conservative unit in the household, on her depends the well-being or otherwise of her husband's kinship group. Such probation and tutelage as are necessary for the child wife to undergo, are not resented by her but a grown-up bride would certainly not submit to such control and discipline even for the interest of the family life

³⁵ D. N. Majumdar, *A Tribe in Transition*, Chapter on Bride-price.

and solidarity. The growing individuality among women and the disruptive forces of the present day, have introduced domestic problems the solution of which requires careful handling by the family heads and we know how joint family among the Hindus is slowly and surely being disintegrated. The agricultural tribes and castes may have borrowed the institution of child marriage from their cultured neighbours but in their case the institution has not degenerated into a tool of repression. It is for the anthropologist to study the function of social institutions and enlighten public opinion about the nature and possibility of standardised modes of behaviour in human society.

So, I believe, anthropologist in India as elsewhere, has a more important rôle to play in the future than merely recording folktales and folk-customs. Social anthropology is the science of man and under its developed technique it is bound to throw new light on matters which practical man has to deal with. As Westermann puts it, anthropologists should work to serve fellow men though this should be done in an indirect way, so that the practical outcome may not be apparent to the outsider. To quote his words, "We speak of applied or practical anthropology as a purely scientific method of investigation, which however does not consider present-day problems as unscientific and therefore overlook them and which is not above presenting its results in such a way that the practical man can apply them to his problems."²⁶

This is the need of anthropology in India and I hope the social anthropologists of today and those of the future will keep in mind the deep implications of the science to Indian life and culture.

²⁶ Westermann, *Africa To-day*.



Santal Marriage

THE SANTALS IN MAYURBHANJ STATE

JOGENDRANATH GUPTA,

Editor, "Sanku Bhanu"

I have recently made an interesting trip to the Mayurbhanj State in Bihar and Orissa, of which it is proposed to give a short account here. In this article I should like to deal specially with the Santals of the State.

Mayurbhanj is the largest of the Bihar and Orissa States and lies between 21°17' and 22°34' North Latitudes and between 85°40' and 87°10' East Longitudes. The country is an elevated undulating plateau of 4,243 square miles.

The general level of the country is from 160 to 4,000 feet above sea-level, the lowest point being 160 feet. It descends steeply on all sides in the low country. High mountains, like the Simlipal 4,000 feet above the ordinary level of the plateau, form the boundary on the south-west.

The climate of Mayurbhanj is generally dry. The maximum temperature during the hot weather rises up to 110 and sometimes to 120 degrees, while the minimum temperature during the cold weather months comes down to the neighbourhood of 40 degrees. Excepting a few villages lying to the right of the Subarnarekha in Pergannaha Olmara and Amarda, there is no other tract belonging to the State which is ordinarily liable to floods, as the State is situated on a high level and the rivers are all hill streams which rapidly discharge their contents elsewhere. Floods, therefore, occur at long intervals. The experience of the past three decades goes to show that they occur once in the course of a generation.

Sir Edward A. Gait, speaking of the soil of Chhota Nagpur plateau within which lie the Orissa States, observes: "There are extensive areas of rock, laterite and gravel which are unfit for cultivation and except in the valleys, the patches of fertile ground are small and infrequent." During the 30 years that have since elapsed, conditions have considerably altered. Extensive areas of rocky, laterite and gravelly soil have given place to soil fit for cultivation. Considerable

portions of the valley lands have also since improved in fertility to an appreciable extent.

The people of Mayurbhanj are for the most part, agriculturists. Paddy of different varieties is the chief crop.

Mayurbhanj, with an area of 4,243 square miles, has, according to the Census of 1931, a population of 859,603 giving a density of 210 persons per square mile. The Simlipal hills, which comprise an area of 1,192.97 square miles are mostly uninhabited. The inhabited area in these tracts comes to only 91.56 square miles which, with a population of 11,649 gives a density of 147 persons per square mile. If the uninhabited area of the Simlipal, which thus comes to 1,101.41 square miles of dense jungle, is not taken into account, the density of the inhabited area in Mayurbhanj would have amounted to 238 persons per square mile.

The Santals in Mayurbhanj constitute a little over 20 per cent. of the total population. Their total strength is 238,19 (127,565 males and 180,890 females) of whom 254,596 are returned as Hindus, 3,488 Animists and 111 Christians. They are found all over the State, though their stronghold is north and north-east Mayurbhanj.

The Santals belong to the Mnoda tribe, a branch of that aboriginal element which probably entered India from the North-East. At the present day, they inhabit the Eastern outskirts of the Chhota Nagpur plateau (Orissa included). Originally hunters and dwellers in the jungle they are still but indifferent agriculturists. Like the Mundas and Hos and other representatives of the race, they are jovial in character, fond of their rice beer (*Handia*), and ready to take a joke.

According to a tradition, which is still current among the Santals of the State, they as a tribe were called Kherwals or Kherwars (Santal puritan) before they settled in the country around a place called Saont in Midnapore. There seem to be good reasons to hold that the Santals are only a branch of the Kols or Mundas, and that they have been given a distinct designation by their Hindu neighbours. Their customs and traditions have been modified apparently either by long separation from the Mundas of Chhota Nagpur or by contact with Hindu influences. Sir George Grierson's account of the two dialects, Santali and Mundari, shows that they closely resemble each other, and differ only in minor particulars, and that the Santals have borrowed their vocabulary from their Aryan neighbours. The principal

deity of the Santals, Marang Buru (big hill), is a Munda God. In his article on Ho, Sir H. Risley states that the Santals, Hos and Mundas are local branches of the same tribe. From their features, Colonel Dalton felt inclined to class the Santals as Kols. There is interdining between male members of these two tribes provided that the food, if it has to be cooked, is cooked in a new vessel or pot. Among females belonging to the two tribes, there is only interdrinking of Handia or the rice beer. On social occasions, food has to be prepared separately for each community which also is taken separately. There is also intermarriage between the two communities, though with certain restrictions. A Santal who has taken a Kol wife allows the children born of such union a recognised position in his society, though a Kol, under similar circumstances, shows a certain amount of reluctance to grant the same privileges to the children born of his union with a Santal wife. From all these manners and custom, there seems to be good reason to hold that the Santals are only a branch of the Kols or Mundas, and this view finds favour with, and is generally accepted by, the local Santals. There are, however, some points of similarity between Kurmis and Santals which might require a word of explanation. The Santals bear the title Majhi, while the Kurmis call themselves Mahato. Both these terms mean headman of a tribe or village. Like the Santals, the Kurmis still worship Marang Buru, which is believed to be a big hill or mountain somewhere in the Santal Pargannah. Again, though there is an absolute want of reciprocity on the part of the Kurmis, the Santals take food from the Kurmis without any restriction whatsoever. A Kurmi woman is not commonly available to the Santal for his wife, but the Santal always cherishes the desire and aspires to set up a matrimonial connection with a member of that community. Again, some of the habits and modes of life of the Santal have gradually found their way into a section of the Kurmi community. This section, like the Santals, freely indulges in Handia, (rice beer), fowl, etc., which the more advanced section of the community now strongly resents. On the other hand, in various other vital matters, there is a marked disagreement between the two communities. Of these, the difference in the language of the two tribes is the most outstanding. The difference in their general habits and modes of life is no less marked. Their mental qualities also differ. To the careful observer, while the Kurmi is by birth a cultivator, a Santal is hardly so, even under the pressure of outside influence. Jungle clearance with the

object of raising shifting crop engages the attention of the Santal, while intensive and regular cultivation of the holding in his occupancy is the usual vocation of the Kurmi. The former is improvident to a degree, while the latter is proverbially known for his thrifty habits and his anxiety to provide against a rainy day. They also differ widely in their moral qualities. The Santal is a simple, frank and credulous individual who can never be accused of any guile in his conduct towards others, often being the victim of guile at the hands of his neighbours. Again, unlike his kin the Kol, he is less subject to criminal propensities. In contrast with the Santal, a Kurmi is a shrewd and clever man and will hardly allow himself to fall a victim to the machination of others. All the qualities which fit a person for trade are to be found in abundance in the Kurmi. In the business circle, such as it is in the State, the Kurmi man and woman always attract attention. Communities, so wide apart in their general temperament, outlook on life and language, could hardly be supposed to have descended from common ancestor.

The social organization of the Santals is very complete; each village has its headman or Manjhi, with his assistant the Parank; the Jogmanjhi is charged with the supervision of the morals of the youngmen and women; the Næke is the village priest, the Godat the village constable. Over a group of villages is the Pargana or tribal chief. The Santals are divided into exogenous septs—originally twelve in number, and their social observances are complex; while some relations treat each other with the greatest reserve, between others, the utmost freedom of intercourse is allowed.

The religion is animistic, spirits (*bongas*) are everywhere around them—the spirits of their ancestors, the spirits of the house, the spirit dwelling in the patch of primeval forest preserved round each village. Every hill, tree and rock may have its spirit. These spirits are propitiated by elaborate ceremonies and sacrifices which generally terminate in dances, and the drinking of rice beer.

The Santal Pargana, is a district of 4,800 sq. miles in area, lying about 160-70 miles north of Calcutta, where mostly the Santal lives. In Mayurbhanj the Santals have mostly migrated from adjoining places. In 1891, only 91,493 Santals were returned from this State. In 1901, they numbered 185,119, which is more than double of the previous figure. A further increase by more than 15 per cent., in their number occurred in the Census of 1911, when



Dance of Aboriginal girls



Dance—Another view

they numbered 214,164. In the Census of 1931, the rate of growth has increased by nearly 17 per cent. Since 1921 a large majority of these Santals have returned to Hinduism as their religion. Less than 1½ per cent. of the present total Santal population, or in other words, 3,405 persons are immigrants who returned places outside the State as their birth-places. Prominent among these places are Singbhum and Midnapore, with 1,363 and 1,325 persons respectively. Balasore, Keongbar and Nilgiri are some of the other places from where 246, 132 and 108 Santals have immigrated into the Mayurbhanj State. Manbhum, Sarukela and Hazaribagh are respectively returned as the birth-places of 51, 57 and 24 Santals.

The Santals do not take any kind of drugs, such as opium or *ganja*. They take liquor made of Mahua sold in the State shops or illicitly manufactured by them. They generally resort to the practice of such illicit distillation on the occasion of periodical performances of their Pujahs. Handia, rice beer, forms the chief article of hospitality among them on ceremonial occasions.

Their wearing apparel consists of a single piece of cloth for the loins, and sometimes another piece of cloth to cover the upper part of the body. The females put on *saris* short in width but of disproportionate length. They generally get their supply of cloth from Patar Tantis. The yarn used in weaving their cloth is, in most cases, spun by the Santals themselves out of the cotton grown by them. In their transactions with the Patar Tantis, they generally fall a prey to the superior intellect of that community. The wages paid to the Tantis per cubit is a seer of paddy and two seers of rice for the starch. A limited number of the Santals have recently started weaving for themselves. They wash their own cloths and do their own shaving. They use country made razors and, occasionally, those of foreign make. The Santal depends on outside supply for his salt and tobacco only. Some of them have started growing tobacco for their own use. They have their own peculiar form of dance. This is known as "Santali Nata."

Marriage is mainly adult. Infant marriage is practised sometimes by the well-to-do section of the community. Bride-price or "pan" has to be paid for every marriage. It chiefly consists of the three c's, viz., cash, cloth and cattle. If the bride has both the parents living, the pan or 'ganang' (as they call it) consists of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 in cash, 2 heads of cattle and 3 pieces of cloth—one of 14½ cubits for the bride's grandmother, another 12½ cubits for the mother, and

the last one of 7 cubits for the bride's Apa (father's sister). The last-named relation gets her present for escorting the bride to the groom's house. If the bride's father is dead, in place of two heads of cattle, only one has to be given. If the bride has an unmarried elder sister, next in birth to her, she gets Ra. 2 extra. The ceremony connected with marriage is divided into 5 different stages, viz., *The Sarasagoon*—when the parties visit each other's house and watch the auspicious omens. Empty pitcher, branches of tree dropping down, carcass of cattle, and crow or kite flying with something in its beak are all considered inauspicious signs. *The Takachal ceremony*—while leaving after the marriage ceremony, the bride's party receives Ra. 2 as present from the groom's party. The passing of this money has given the ceremony its name. After this ceremony is over, the betrothed are not allowed to visit public places or use public conveyances. *The Girtal, Dhorua, Ruku ceremony*.—This is held when the articles constituting the pan are examined by the village elders and carried to the bride's house. *The Bahuduran ceremony*—This is gone through when the bride, after payment of pan, is escorted to the groom's house for marriage. The escorting party must consist of an odd number of persons. *The Sindurdan ceremony*:—It is held when the actual marriage ceremony takes place by painting the bride's forehead with vermilion.

Divorce and remarriage of widows are very common among the Santals. It is open to both parties to divorce each other. The remarriage of widows is called "Sanga" which is known as "Sagai" in Bihar and this term 'Sanga' is used in this sense in some of the Eastern Bengal Districts. The 'sanga' marriage is a very simple affair in which the parties voluntarily unite, and then make the fact of their union known to the community. Dances generally provide suitable opportunities for marriage proposals and courtships among the santals as well as among the Kols. Divorce proceedings have to receive the sanction of the Caste-Council.

The Santals either bury their dead or cremate them. There is no restriction among them regarding the number of days within which they have to perform the *Kamani* (shaving) or *sudha* ceremony. If the dead body is cremated, a piece of its bone, preferably of the skull, is carried to either the Damodar, the Baitarani, the Subarnarekha, or even to the Burabalong, to be thrown into the water.

There is a ceremony among the Santals, to invoke the spirit of the

dead, which the Santals call *Jhampar*. Two persons perform this ceremony, one of whom calls himself Marang Buru and the other represents the soul of the deceased. They are fed and confined in a room, after three aged women have touched them with their left hands. A tumbler of water and some cooked rice and fowl are also kept in their room. If rice is found inside the tumbler the next morning, it is believed that the departed soul visited the house and partook the food left for it. This ceremony is supposed to secure salvation of for the deceased. The priests officiating at the ceremony on the banks of the Damodar belong to an outcast Brahmin family, and they receive presents in cash (*dan*) on the occasion.

The ordinary occupation of the Santals at present is cultivation and agricultural labour. They are very good diggers of earth. A few of them have become literate and are in State employment. Some of them have taken to trade and shop-keeping, but their number is not large.

The Santals are great story-tellers; the old folk of the village gather the young people round them in the evening and tell them stories, and men when watching the crops on the threshing floor will often sit up all night telling stories.

The Rev. O. Bedding, D. D. of the Scandinavian Mission, the Rev. Dr. Campbell of Govindpore, Mr. C.H. Bompas of the Indian Civil Service published some volumes of the stories, legends and folklore of the Santals.

These stories and legends may be classified as follows: 1. Stories of a general character; 2. Stories relating to animals; 3. Stories which are scarcely folklore but are anecdotes relating to Santal life; 4. Stories relating to the dealings of bongas and men; 5. Legends and traditions, tribal customs, belief in witch craft, etc. I may be permitted to state here pertinently that it is a matter of extreme gratification that Maharaja Sir Pratap Chundra Bhanja Deo, K.C.L.E., the present enlightened Ruler of Mayurbhanj State on assuming the reins of administration has taken up the reform of the State in various matters and his attention has especially been drawn towards the poor aboriginal classes of his State. In order to remove the illiteracy of the Santals His Highness has founded a good number of Primary Schools in his State, two of which I had the privilege of visiting during this trip; these are situated very close to Baripada. I must thank Rev. Nagendranath Banerji of the

Naba Bidhan Brahma Samaj, Secretary of these two schools, for taking me there and showing me a variety of handicrafts made by the Santal boys and girls of these two institutions. I shall never forget the smiling faces of these Santal boys and girls when they received me in their midst. They were all found to be willing learners.

In conclusion, I desire to express my sense of deep obligation to my esteemed friend Mr. K.C. Neogi, late of the Legislative Assembly, who now worthily occupies the exalted position of the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State for his unfailing courtesy and constant readiness to be of help to me in every thing in which I wanted his assistance.

In this connection I also take an opportunity of sincerely thanking Maulvi Mohammad Laeequddin, the S. D. O. of Panchpir and Census Officer, for the valuable information which I have received from his Census Report of 1931 and which I have utilized in this article.





Santal Male and Female

NOTION OF TRUTH AND CRITERION OF FALSITY

ADRAR CHANDRA DAS

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I shall discuss the problem of truth and falsity..... a problem which is as old as the science of knowledge. It goes without saying that the problem is not an isolated one, but is intimately bound up with those regarding idea or meaning, judgment and apprehension. But, within the small compass of this paper, it is not possible to bring them all into the discussion, though there is no denying that one cannot do justice to the theme without at least some reference to the attitudes adopted towards them. It will not then be out of place here to mention that I have given to them all due consideration elsewhere. Here, however, I can do no more than make reference only to the salient points worked out there, which will, I think, suffice for the purpose.

TRUTH CONSCIOUSNESS AND ITS CONDITIONS.

To begin with the notion of truth itself, whatever the theories of simple apprehension, it is universally agreed that it is a prejudgmental stage of our awareness, wherein the notion of truth is lying. I shall not be courting criticism, I hope, when I say that the contents of simple apprehension are immediately given, and that there we have not yet abstracted ideally the fundamental nature of each from the concrete embodiments. The notion of truth, in short, emerges in our consciousness when some sort of severance, though not absolute separation, by way of a distinction between the subjective and the objective, has been effected through the formation of articulate ideas referring to the relevant things. An idea that functions as an element in the situation of knowledge is just an intellectual reference which, referring as it does to an objective identity, is self-identical. It is somewhat of a paradox to say that an idea as reference¹ is indefinite.

¹ "As reference" is used to emphasize the distinction between idea, as I take it to be, and idea as image, and sensation.

If we, however, look into what is exactly meant therein we shall not come on anything absolutely absurd. An intellectual reference there can be only if a definite content is ideally fixed on; so, there is scarcely anything like indefiniteness *within* an idea. There is none the less an indefiniteness *about* it, and that with reference to space and time element only; that is to say, an idea as such does not indicate the where and when of the content referred to inasmuch as idea originates in the freedom from any contextual reference. So the conception that an idea is indefinite in reference seems to have arisen out of some loose thinking about its origin as well as its function. If an idea could by virtue of its intrinsic nature conjure up the relevant fact in its concreteness before us it would doubtless perform a feat, but any such feat, however important for us, is out of the question from the nature of the case; for idea qua idea arises only by positing a severance in being between the subjective and the objective. I must here refrain from going into detail concerning this question, tempting as it is, and pass on to consider whether truth attaches to idea or to judgment.

TRUTH AND IDEA

From the short analysis given above of the nature of idea, it seems to follow that the full conditions of truth are lodged therein; for, truth, no matter what the theorists might say this way or that, is always what regards fact or reality, and an idea as reference is always an ideal function pointing to the relevant fact. But it will not do to forget that the severance between the subjective and the objective to which idea owes its origin was effected through the initial contact with fact or reality where and when there was not any such division. When however the severance was actual it was not all a turning away from fact; it was, on the contrary, indicated as an actuality through a yearning which is, I may say, quite what is called idea.

Truth by its very notion implies contact with fact, though it is not itself the contact. An idea, as is shown above, as a yearning on the part of consciousness for contact with the corresponding fact is not only indicative, but also reminiscent of the relevant past experience or experiences. This reminiscence, however, falls outside the core of an idea, for an idea is reference to an identity and is in its nature, though not in its origin, independent of the context or contexts in

which the identity in question is found in concrete embodiment. If it has anything at all to do with context and concrete fact anticipation of possible experience which is to be understood in terms of past contact only is all that is implied by it. Now it ought to be clear that, in whatever way we may make an approach to an idea, contact with reality—the basis of truth, would be found lacking therein; there is something yet to be fulfilled before it can enter as an element into the situation of truth. But the condition of this fulfilment can by no means be furnished by the idea itself; for that will require an experience wherein we stand face to face with fact. I can, therefore, conclude that truth cannot be tacked on to an idea which is nothing more than a mere mental representation of the relevant fact in its most fundamental aspect without any indication whatsoever as to where and when it exists.

TRUTH AND JUDGMENT

Where is then to be found the situation in which truth appears? In the prejudgmental stage of our experience, which is to be called simple apprehension, there is, of course contact with facts, that forms itself into an occasion for the formation of the relevant ideas within consciousness: but that contact is not in the least articulated in consciousness inasmuch as any such articulation will necessitate the mediation of ideas and, for that reason, an element of recognition. So the contact with fact that is implied by truth as its basis is altogether of a different order from, or rather far more complex than the initial contact involved in the situation of simple apprehension. In other words, truth requires for its very being a form of perceptual experience in which we are aware of the contact by way of determining the given in thought, and this determination entails the use of an idea and involves the subject's attitude that takes shape in claim or assent. All these are, in point of fact, fulfilled in the situation of judgment. So it is only in the sphere of judgment that truth is found.¹

In simple apprehension the facts are immediately given without the mediation of ideas which take their rise in the course of our

¹ Some may object that I am unnecessarily narrowing down the sphere of judgment by making it perceptual. But, all discussion apart, the objection is mainly based upon the age old confusion between truth and validity and consequently between judgment and inference. For my part, I do make a distinction between truth and validity, which corresponds to that between judgment and inference.

mental development. Even coming down to the level of adult knowledge, we find that it is not through ideas that we come to know facts. What, on the contrary, happens there is this; facts are directly given and fixed on and then thought of. When we know a table, for instance, in a context it is not that we reach out to it through anything like transparency of the idea 'table.' We, on the other hand, apprehend the table in question given as a fact by the suggestion of which the idea subsequently rises in our mind, and the judgment "here is a table" takes place when we claim truth on the basis of the content presented. Judgment then is not the only avenue through which we approach facts, but is in reality a peculiar mental dealing with the fact or facts apprehended. In adult knowledge, of course, there is ordinarily not an appreciable temporal gap between apprehension and judgment in the situation of judgment. But this is not to deny that apprehension is the basis of judgment as a mental act. An acute analysis of the twofold grade of apprehension in relation to judgment will provide the clue to the proper solution of the problem of truth. To be brief, in a judgment, we do not pass from idea to fact at the outset. We, on the contrary, begin with an apprehended fact that leads to the relevant idea and is then presented as a suggestion to which we assent by claiming truth. These processes pass so rapidly that they appear synchronous enough to constitute a compact whole. We, however, cannot claim truth if we do not know what truth consists in. But there is no high *a priori* road along which truth can trundle down at our call from a region hanging far above the experiential world to a context of our experience; if we claim truth in a judgment it is a sufficient argument for the fact that it is also known and, for that reason, involved therein.

TRUTH AS CORRESPONDENCE

In a particular context, I judge, for instance, "this is an elephant;" obviously there I do not fix on the idea 'elephant' arbitrarily; there is manifestly an objective control in the judgment. The process of thought involved in a judgment is, so to speak, a complete circle or a straight line along which we twice travel. What I intend to convey through the symbol is this, that, in the situation of judgment, we first pass from fact to idea and then from idea back to fact and that truth consists in the second movement of thought.

In short, we claim truth when an idea is found to correspond to the relevant objective content presented. This correspondence, however, is not, as some suppose, structural identity. It would be very difficult to show that an idea is a complex structure corresponding bit by bit to a complex fact given. Further, what sense is there in speaking of correspondence between two things? We may at most say that two or more things resemble. The relation of idea to fact, however, is not like that which subsists between two things resembling, and their correspondence is not consequently resemblance. If it is that truth consists in correspondence it cannot in any way belong to an idea *qua* idea; for an idea is only one of the elements that go to constitute the situation of truth which strictly attaches to what claims it, *i.e.*, to judgment. Thus, the fact a judgment fixes on is already a suggested content which is nothing but the relevant idea and the fact presented in their reciprocal relation which elicits in ordinary circumstances assent from the subject through the recognition, on his part, of the fact that the idea in question fits in with the fact presented. Thus, I may set forth that truth consists in correspondence which is but an idea's fitting in with fact apprehended.

If anybody object to what I call idea's fitting-in-with—there will undoubtedly be many to object inasmuch as there are objections to everything speculative—I must in reply make an appeal to experience. We know what this fitting-in-with is when we burst out laughing before a person who declares a table in front of us a quadruped. I can make it a little more clear by saying that it is just what is warranted by the fundamental nature of idea *qua* idea, indicating thereby that the fitting-in-with of an idea really means its relevancy to the objective content in its concreteness, that is under consideration, and all this signifies that the fact presented is the meant the idea in question means.

It may be further argued that correspondence even in this re-orientation is not intelligible in the least apart from the solution of the problem as to how an idea can fit in with a fact which is not a mere idea. Here the problem referred to is a vast one; but I cannot now take it up for any discussion for reasons stated above. To say the least regarding it, I do not find anything warrant a strict dualism between consciousness on the one hand and the objective contents on the other, though there is no gainsaying the fact that there is a duality which is intellectually grasped only in an abstraction. What

our immediate experience begins with is not a bare consciousness, but a consciousness with an inarticulate whole as the content, and as our consciousness deepens, the content gradually gets diversified; the development of consciousness renders the contents articulate, while their articulation determines its development. If there is a problem—there is certainly one—as to the exact relation between consciousness and its objective contents, that should be relegated to metaphysics, and we should not thereby muddle our 'logical' theories.

Mr. Wildon Carr pronounces an indictment upon the correspondence theory, which I cannot ignore; for it has a direct bearing upon the discussion. "The theory that truth is correspondence," says he, "we found to offer this difficulty: to say of an idea that it corresponds with reality supposes a knowledge of reality in addition to and distinct from the knowledge that is the idea and yet the knowledge of reality is the idea of it."¹ I shall here only indicate the confusion Mr. Carr labours under. In the first instance, his assumption that the knowledge of reality is the idea of it is gratuitous and hence arbitrary. Mere idea of a thing there may be and is in fact there in an imagination. There is, however, a long stage from mere imagination to knowledge proper. When we know a thing especially at the perceptual level, it is by no means that we only get an idea of it, and it is for this reason that representationism fails to show how we can reach to the factual counterparts of ideas in a context of perception. It is a travesty of fact to assert that in the situation of a judgment we first know a fact and then turn to the idea of it existing in our consciousness, compare them and finally declare the correspondence between them. Secondly, judgment is after all a dynamic process which as such cannot be an accretion of distinct cognitions. The judgment, for instance, "here is a dog" does not involve the distinctive cognitions of the fact given *qua* fact, of the idea 'dog' and of the correspondence between them. Truly speaking, a judgment is an integral whole in which we can hardly separate the process for the product; from the product there, if we so call it, is the process itself. What actually happens there is this: we apprehend a fact not as a bare existence, but as a suggested content,² i.e., as a content idealized, and there thinking consists in the

¹ The Problem of Truth, p. 88.

² This aspect of our knowledge I call secondary apprehension.

emergence of the idea within consciousness in and through the presentation of the fact. But the idea is not on that account grafted on the content presented, nor does it intervene between consciousness and the content in question. An idea is, in short, a modal activity of consciousness, which is relevant to the objective content which is the meant. The suggestion of the fact given reveals that the fact has already been determined through the relevant idea, and the relevancy shows itself up in the idea coalescing with the presented through an objective control. Hence it is not altogether absurd to say that truth appears before us and is seen, though truth cannot be taken entirely on the side of the object so as to make it a feature of it like colour or shape : for consciousness has its own contribution to make to the very structure of truth. To put the matter shortly, truth is seen only as a feature of an objective content fixed on in a judgment inasmuch as judgment is essentially truth-claim. We cannot claim truth unless truth itself falls within the situation of the claim. So strictly a criterion of truth is a misnomer ; for a criterion even when taken as being involved in experience, bears about it a sense of exteriority. Bo-anquet maintains that the criterion of truth is immanent in experience. I, however, find reason enough to go farther to assert that a criterion is otiose because truth is immanent in judgment, and hence we are not to look out for it outside any concrete situation wherein a judgment falls.

THE CRITERION OF FALSITY

Now it may be pointed out that correspondence, as I have explained it, precludes the very possibility of falsity ; for if a judgment is truth-claim and if truth fall within it there would naturally be no occasion for rejecting a judgment. All this, of course, is plausible ; it is none the less obvious that an assertion without a claim cannot in any way come within the purview of falsity. Yet, the difficulty referred to remains all the same. There is still the problem as to how any notion of falsity can be adapted to the theory of truth propounded.

It is almost customary with logicians to bring both truth and falsity under one yoke. Their theory of falsity on that account turns out to be merely a corollary of their theory of truth. There is indeed an element of truth in the position inasmuch as the notion of

falsity presupposes that of truth ; a judgment which is found to be false, must have previously claimed truth. But it is far from the real state of things to say that in the case of falsity the judgment in question must have been held to be true ; for it would be indicated thereby that judgment is what it is all apart from any consideration of truth in so far as its nature is concerned, and that it may or does take on the adventitious characteristic truth or falsity after it has been duly passed, which is, however, not warranted by our analysis of judgment as it is in itself. The notion of truth indeed implies that of falsity, but not in the same way as the latter presupposes the former. When we judge, for instance, " this is a bird " it is not that this our judgment presupposes its falsity ; the notion of falsity being merely a logical implication of the notion of truth is not to be necessarily present in the subject's mind when judging. The notion of truth is, however, the presupposition of the notion of falsity exactly in the sense that the former is present in consciousness of the latter.

Now I have to discuss and determine what should be regarded as the proper criterion of falsity. Truth, as I have shown above, consists in correspondence which is but the fitting-in of an idea with a fact. Falsity then being the opposite of truth is apt to be taken as a negation of truth. But it ought to be clear that the absence of truth may point to a sphere where truth and, for the matter of that, falsity is ruled out. The view that falsity is nothing but negation of truth will be found on scrutiny to align itself with the superstition that contrariety of all sorts is to be interpreted and understood solely in terms of the relation between affirmation and negation. If we at all take falsity as negation of truth it will obviously be non-correspondence which will appear on analysis far more complex than correspondence that is direct and immediate. In a judgment we assent to the correspondence of idea to fact. Our awareness of falsity will not on that score be in the shape of a judgment, one among other considerations prevents it from assuming a judgmental ; character, and it is this, that falsity is always directed against judgment.

Besides, non-correspondence to be anything intelligible must attach like correspondence[†] to an idea. A judgment being an act of

[†] Here correspondence is to be taken as corresponding and non-correspondence as non-corresponding, correspondence in itself being the full relation of idea and fact in a given concrete situation. There is therefore no contradiction in the use of the word correspondence here.

assent cannot be taken to correspond to any fact. A judgment, on the contrary, is true only in claiming truth which consists in the correspondence of idea to fact. Non-correspondence then as lack of correspondence on the part of idea must consist in an ideal suggestion being repelled by the fact presented, and this forthwith leads us into the situation of negation. If it were the fact that the negative form of statement is the only form wherein to express falsity, which is tantamount to the assertion that the situation of negation and that of falsity are identical, we could not have the least hesitation in averring that negation is always directed against a pre-existing judgment. There is, however, reason to reject this view of negation. Here I am compelled for lack of space to keep off any discussion on the question. I may nevertheless indicate my position by saying that falsity and negation in reality fall apart from each other, though it is often the case that the situation of falsity leads to a relevant negation. Leaving all this out of account for the present purpose and fixing on the problem of the exact relation falsity as well as negation bears to judgment, I do assert that, whereas falsity is directed against judgment, negation has nothing to do with judgment as such and, in point of fact, arises in an ideal suggestion being thwarted by a factual situation relevant to the interest that controls the act of intellection at the moment. It is therefore not off the point to assert that the notion of non-correspondence, sought to be brought to bear upon falsity, reacts very unfavourably upon the very conception of falsity inasmuch as the the situation of negation is entirely different from that of falsity; in the former the relevant attitude is directed against an ideal element (of course in relation to the given), whereas in the latter the attitude adopted is towards a pre-existing judgment. A false judgment then there cannot be, though a judgment may be falsified. To take a stock example from Indian Philosophy, I am subject to a snake illusion in a piece of rope; a snake objectively appears (this of course I know afterwards when out of the illusion; but in the actual perception a snake of rope content is given and fixed on), and I not being aware of the piece that lies in the background make the judgment "this is a snake." My later perception, however, reveals the existence of a rope, and I forthwith become aware of the falsity of my previous judgment "this is a snake." I do not here pass—though it seems that I do—from the judgment "this is a snake" to "this is a rope." On the

contrary, what happens there is simply a turning back from the second to the first only to see it annulled. So to say that a judgment is false is to see that it is annulled or contradicted—which is the same thing—by another, and this annulment is entailed in the corresponding annulment of the fact in question by its contrary.

Prima facie, the two judgments—"this is a snake" and "this is a rope" are not opposed to each other as they may be employed with reference to different points of space and time. Opposition in any case arises between them only when in both of them reference is made to the selfsame point. We cannot, however, keep this opposition out of our way by attributing a mysterious power to a piece of rope to give sometimes the appearance of a snake; for even on this hypothesis of an inscrutable power in a rope we are left with the very opposition that baffles us. Whatever its source, the opposition is brought before us by the operation of the principle that functions within our experience, that everything is with nature of its own, and that there cannot be consequently any overlapping of facts. It is due to this and hence due to the opposition between snake and rope as contents of experience that the *this* which is now known as a rope is known so on the annulment of the appearance of a snake, that was hanging about it. So in the situation of falsity there is a twofold annulment. First, the content of the judgment that is falsified—the objective fact presented disappears on the presentation of the rope that is fixed on in the second judgment, and along with the disappearance of the snake-content the corresponding judgment founders for lack of the requisite factual support. To pronounce a judgment false is then not more than to declare that its content is contradicted by the content of another and consequently that it is contradicted by the judgment that is our immediate concern at the moment in question. Thus falsity may be said to be more directly related to two judgments in relation than to the facts which constitute respectively the contents of the judgments. As a matter of fact, the sense of the falsity of a judgment appears in our awareness in the event of its being contradicted by another, and this is as immediate as the awareness of truth, but is not nevertheless susceptible of being put in the form of judgment. 'This is false' is then on a level with 'this is true' and all that is indicated therein is this: in the second we apprehend truth consisting in correspondence, and in the first falsity which consists in a judgment being contradicted by its contrary. Truly speaking, 'This is true' is meaningless; for

there is no need for a criterion which is by its very nature external to judgment, or it is a reiteration in different words of the identical judgment in which a truth-claim is made. Thus when I say "this judgment is true" after having passed the judgment "this is a bird" the statement "this judgment is true" to be anything more than the judgment in question, would be at most a reflection upon it. But it will be extremely hard to show that reflective awareness of a judgment is itself a judgment. The situation will not be a whit better even if we admit that reflection upon a judgment is itself a judgment. On the contrary, the matter will be much worse; for in that case an infinite regress will forthwith be under way inasmuch as the position adopted would imply that the truth of a judgment is not only not known within it, but is also invariably determined by and expressed in another judgment, which obviously involves an intellectual deadlock that arises out of an artificiality rooted in an unintelligent use of some forms of statement.

The form "this is false" or "this judgment is false" may be allowed, and is in fact more significant than the form of the statement "this is true;" for in the former I express in articulate language my awareness of a judgment being falsified. Now it may be argued that, if judgment is essentially truth-claim and if truth is immanent in judgment the question of falsity is from the first eliminated; if a judgment, on the contrary, turn out false it shows that the truth of a judgment is to be determined by an extraneous criterion and is not originally contained therein. The contention indeed brings before us the crux of the problem I am discussing, and in order that I may settle it satisfactorily, I have to undertake a detailed criticism of other theories of truth and falsity to show each of them to be untenable; but this I cannot accomplish here. There is, however, one consideration which when pressed into service will go a long way to resolve the difficulty that lies in my way, and it is this, that the very situation of falsity, far from going against my position, corroborates, in its implications, the contention that truth consists in correspondence in the sense I insist on. If truth like falsity, as some would maintain, were really extraneous to the structure of judgment there could not possibly be anything like opposition between one judgment and another; further, this would fail to provide any explanation whatever for the rejection of one judgment in preference to another. When I pass the judgment "this is a rope," as in the instance given above, which stands to annul the

previous judgment "this is a snake" it would be, of course, against me to find that I stop to ascertain the truth of the judgment, "this is a rope" with the help of some other judgment or judgments, or something else before the judgment "this is a snake" is cancelled. But the fact is that no sooner is the judgment "it is a rope" made than the judgment "this is a snake" is discarded, and this definitely shows that the truth of the judgment "this is a rope" falls within it, being determined by way of the relation of the idea that functions then to the fact presented; otherwise we shall be at a loss to account for what happens in an actual situation of truth or falsity. Besides, though we find that this or that judgment that we happen to make in some perceptual contexts gets falsified, yet the usual procedure in our thinking through experience or rather in judgment-making and truth-claiming is not in the least affected; in view of the falsification of some of our judgments previously made, we do not as a matter of fact fumble at each step of our perceptual knowledge for truth and do not accept only tentatively the facts as they come upon us. If we cling to the usual habit of direct approach to facts with full confidence in our grasp of them in spite of the correctives proposed by logicians, it is evident that the actualities of the situation of judgmental knowledge adequately answer to my theory of truth.

There is nevertheless a stumbling block yet to be removed; I have still to show how falsity can be reconciled with truth, and truth-claim which is judgment. Really, however, there is no question of reconciliation. Here all that is demanded is a criterion of falsity which I have already set out with some details. What then remains to be considered is the fate of truth and truth-claim in the judgment that has been falsified. We can cut short all speculation regarding it by the statement that in some cases it does happen that we are deceived by a truth-consciousness and a truth-claim, though this deception does not react prejudicially upon the normal course of our experience. We may assert that occasion for falsity is there, but is unintelligible. There is, however, no pressing need for such an extreme view. The situation will, on the contrary, be much simplified if we do not take the question of falsity as an appendage to the problem of truth, but as a problem apart and as a special case being an aberration from the normal course of our knowledge judgmental in character.

THE FILM IN EDUCATION

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THE world has progressed marvellously by leaps and bounds. People of thirty or forty years back have found themselves in a sphere entirely novel and different. The master minds of the scientists have evolved out of their brains ideas and inventions which our forefathers could never dream of and which to them would prove either magic or devilry. Yet, it is to the patient and wonderful inventions and discoveries of these great men that we owe much of our happiness and comforts. Which of us living in a world of cars, steamships and aeroplanes, and in the midst of the whirring of trams, buses and trains would like to go back to an age when patient plodding on foot was the only means of conveyance and man had to do without the luxuries of to-day? We have progressed, and this progress or development is due to men like Marconi, Edison, Einstein and others. With the progress of Science man has considerably enriched and improved his status. He has learnt how to apply and use the many wonderful things around him in order to educate himself and better his own conditions.

This century which has given us so many wonderful inventions and which has contributed so widely to the general well-being of mankind has given to the educational world a marvellous invention in the shape of films which have served to make education more vivid, vital and stimulating.

There has been in recent years a wide change of outlook in modern theories and methods of education. The entire attitude and manners of the teachers and the taught have changed. The little child, for instance, who was made to sit with his fingers on lips and tread lightly through corridors and had to address his teachers in half a whisper with not an unmixed feeling of awe and fright has now given way to the smiling jolly child who treats his teachers with rather a warm and genuine feeling of love, hope and confidence. Interest, recreation and amusement—these are now regarded as the prime factors in child education, and in conducting class lessons we are now following what are called psychological methods the most characteristic feature of which

is the concretization of the subject-matter of lessons. Of the various other educational aids and appliances cinema films can undoubtedly be regarded as the most potent and effective in visualizing some of the topics of lessons.

There may, indeed, be people who scoff at the idea of cinema being used as an instrument of education and may consider this to be a new fangled idea of the moment; but the films can unquestionably contribute a great deal to the furtherance of child education. It is a fact that for the last thirty-five or forty years the cinema film has very largely been left to pursue its own sweet way as a means of *cheap mass entertainment*. It has strikingly attained by now the position of the third or fourth greatest industry in the world, and its significance and importance, in the opinion of a large number of people, parallels that of the invention of the printing press. The films entertainment is the one aspect of the cinema which has been fully realised by people at large: but at the same time it must be pointed out that its supreme value as an educative force and appliance has so far been sadly neglected. Yet, we can assert that it is educational, even when it entertains and that if a comparable effort had been put into using the film for education in its widest sense as has been put into its use for entertainment, one could almost claim that the cultural level of all peoples would be immensely higher to-day than it actually is. The films must be considered a valuable medium for telling an interesting story about anything with a dynamic quality.

The first great use of films is that they make real, vivid and life-like the objects they deal with. Nothing is truer than the maxim 'Seeing is believing.' And all modern educators realise the utility of 'pictorial education' and the value of visual aids and illustrations. There runs also a good proverb—'Example is better than precept.' Example is that which is actually done before the eye and precept is what is merely heard. To instruct a child that man should die for his country is good indeed but to demonstrate to him an example of a man who actually dies for his country is better still. This example will no doubt have a greater value to children than mere theoretical precepts. The children are naturally much more interested by the things actually presented before their eyes than by the abstract injunctions or preachings.

Education may be made more perfect by cinema, for by it the children are allowed to see things for themselves and have first-hand

impressions of them, and thus they can increase their knowledge. To create impressions in the minds of young learners—this is the problem of education. Suppose, we only hear about a thing—that may not seem real to us but when we actually have a look at it, we have at once before our eyes the very real and concrete thing; we no longer have our own *views* of the object, which are merely subjective. And certainly the visual impressions are much more effective and appealing than the auditory. It is said in arithmetical language that we remember as much as 60 p. c. of what we see and only 40 p. c. of what we hear. Hence, by supplementing our lessons by films we can be sure that children will remember and retain things and facts much more than ordinarily.

This is what can be done merely by pictures and illustrations and indeed much more can we have from the silver screen which throws up before our vision clear, vivid, life-like and realistic pictures which live, move and talk with us and thus strongly appeal to our imagination and forcibly draw our pity, sympathy and admiration, as the case may be. When we cannot have the actual presence of an object, then such a clear vision of it is certainly the next best.

Films bring an added interest to us in as much as the mind is always appealed to by pictorial means. Look at the vast number of people waiting outside the public cinema houses—some of them tired, fatigued and exhausted: but the moment they go into the hall and see pictures flash on the magic screen, all their troubles seem to vanish and they forget themselves in the delight of the hour. Life should be made interesting and worth-living to mankind—this is one of the objects aimed at by education: then why not by cinema films?

Coming, however, to the question of the cultural value of films provided by producers both in India and abroad, it is depressing to note that very few indeed have any idea of the cultural use of the film. In holding this view we also recognize that it is not wholly their fault. The producers are there to make money, and naturally they will seek to provide any film that will show *box office returns*. What they have been providing, hitherto, shows quite a good return. And hence they argue,—“Why give the people what they obviously do not want?” And they are not far wrong. “The fault, dear Brutus, lies in ourselves.” How few of us do indeed pick up and choose their film fare? And how few just “go to the pictures?” Film appreciation is therefore the first step towards the provision of films of cultural value. One of the

discussions at the forthcoming League Assembly is, very appropriately, to be on a report of the International Committee on the ways in which the cinema can be used for the promotion of culture, mutual goodwill and understanding.

Happily, however, the importance of the film in the sphere of education is being rapidly recognised. The London County Council have recently published a report on experiments in the use of films for educational purposes. It should be of considerable interest to education authorities everywhere. More than two years ago the Council commenced an experiment to test and examine every aspect of the use and value of films in schools, and the main result of this enquiry is a recommendation that a definitely planned and progressive step forward should be taken in the provision of projectors and in the equipment of schools with facilities for the projection of films in the class-room. Sound films, it is held, are of definite value. The report opines that they enlarge the experience and broaden the outlook of pupils in such a way as to aid in the training for citizenship; they bring a sense of reality into the class room; and they increase the knowledge of the children in directions which tend to be neglected in ordinary lessons. Films, it is pointed out, also broaden the outlook and knowledge of the teachers, and in the case of exposition films, they can introduce the teacher to new methods of presentation. There is a place for both sound and silent films, and the version adopted in a particular case should largely depend upon the nature and possibilities of the subject or subjects depicted.

The latest figures show that out of the 351 Local Education Authorities in England, 157 are using 669 projectors in their schools for class-room or 'back-ground' purposes. The impetus given by the London County Council report, referred to above, is likely to lead to a more extensive use of the film in schools. Some of the film companies in England, we are told, are co-operating with the educational authorities in the making of educational films. Films made in the class-room by children themselves are now being used as a means of instruction in the Middleburg English School in the Transvaal. In many of the schools in America, language, history and science have been chosen as the most suitable subjects for films and the students there have been showing keen enthusiasm in their production. But where are we in India?

It is not of course meant by 'cinematic education' (if we are allowed the freedom of coining such a term at all) the seeing of trashy

pictures. Pictures which appeal to the sordid type of imagination are entirely worthless and far from having an uplifting and ennobling influence. On the contrary, if pupils are shown clean and educational pictures then they themselves will feel the influence of the good over the bad. Any picture may be said to have educational value if it teems with noble ideals and appeals to the good in man and society. Young people, especially, children are fond of hero-worshipping the stars of the silver screen. They may share and imbibe much of their views and feelings from their favourite stars. If the actors and actresses of the screen act honourably and perform good deeds, they will thrill their worshippers; but let them be gangsters, rogues and criminals gilded over by the glamour and romance of the screen and their spectators will be tempted to follow them. This is one of the reasons why gangster pictures are now being done away with in America.

While it is true that cinema can have a bad influence over men, its advantages as an aid to education outweigh the defects and disadvantages. Much can be done to make school subjects like History, Geography, Nature Study, etc., interesting and attractive to children. Dudley Stamp may be useful for geographical *knowledge* and *theory* but it is far from being interesting and captivating. Geographical studies should preferably be supplemented by the screen. To learn about Africa is quite a different from seeing 'Africa speaks.' We read in books about the falls of Niagara, the great Himalayan ranges, the people of different countries, their language, nature, customs and so on, and we also read about various kinds of beasts and birds of different lands and regions. It is impossible to go and visit these places in person. What is possible for us all is to witness these sights and scenes depicted in films in order to have a vivid knowledge of all these things. Book-knowledge may easily be forgotten but the knowledge and ideas gained by pictorial means last throughout life, because we have said that things seen have generally a stronger appeal for us than things heard or read, and the knowledge may be made perfect by the latter means. Similarly to read about the sky and its wonders may be dull and boring but to see the myriads of stars almost like pearls on the surface of the satiny-shiny sky is much more effective and interesting. Travel pictures, jungle pictures, etc., should play a very great part in the education of children. Things are hereby made vital and life-like by bringing before their eyes

the people of other lands—their mode of living, manners and customs, their dress and all sorts of peculiarities—in an interesting way. Is it not better to see the coal mines of England and also the life around them in a story form on the screen rather than to read fifteen or twenty pages on them from Leonard Brookes or Thurston ?

Much more can be done to make Literature and History lessons amusing for children by means of cinema. Although History is supposed to be one of the most interesting of all school subjects, still how often do we not come across pupils turning away from reading historical books in an attitude of disgust and repulsion ? On the other hand, many an uninterested student going to cinema to witness historical plays and sketches have learnt much more of History through films than by memorising the dates of battles and events in the reigns of kings and emperors. Facts are here actually depicted and we can remember much more of what we see than what we get by heart from the dry pages of books. The past and far-off incidents if kept preserved on the films can be revived in the same order in front of us by means of cinematograph. The battles and wars, the great Durbars, meetings, and the like can be recalled back very easily before our eyes and giving them concrete shapes. Important incidents and moments in world history such as French Revolution, etc., may very profitably be chosen for historical films. Likewise, if boys are told to read Shakespeare, Dickens, Thackeray and the like they would probably yawn and exclaim that these are dull and boring ! They would instead ask you for some cheap emotional novels. The cinema, on the other hand, can turn children's interest and direct their curiosity to classics or other pieces of literature by means of such pictures as 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'As you like it,' 'Queen Christina,' 'Tale of Two Cities,' 'Crusaders,' and so on. Many an adult has gone back with old recollections awakened and a desire to read once again the old writers, merely by seeing a picture. They appeal to us because the characters here are human beings like ourselves who speak to us, act before us and thus appeal to our feelings of love and sympathy. The story of Cinderella, for instance, read in a book cannot be so impressive as shown her in a film in the midst of a storm with her little boat for rescuing the ship-wrecked passengers. But we meet with one difficulty here. We do not, in some cases, get a true and accurate depicting of the real facts. The works of Dickens or Shakespeare are, for instance,

mostly seen distorted only because they are generally turned and twisted so as to suit the special fancy and convenience of their producers. What is desirable of course is to have the real thing as far as possible. But one great advantage here is this that cinemas serve the purpose of a short-cut progress in education. For example, big dramas are demonstrated on the screen in abridged and condensed forms. Students may here easily finish a drama or a novel in the course of one or two hours, while without this they would ordinarily take several days to finish them.

Boys may be taught Science and Nature Study most successfully by means of the films. They can see on the screen trains, steamships, aeroplanes and other miracles of science. Recently in a school in America, a series of lesson were imparted in Zoology on 'frog' and demonstrated by films showing the gradual development of frog in all its stages of growth from the egg to full grown toad. Similar things may be done in a lesson on 'mosquito.' Science, Nature Study and Hygiene are subjects which lend themselves marvelously to be filmed. And lessons given in this way are more likely to interest the children and can make them brighter and more intelligent pupils than lessons conducted in the old and traditional method. It is a fact that children always delight in *make-believe*, and that their interest increases when they can see themselves on the screen, which in turn provides opportunities for self-criticism, especially, in posture, gesture and action. And as speeches are delivered in connection with sound films there are also opportunities to correct faulty-speaking habits.

We gather from a recent report from some of the schools in South Africa that the children there are taking a very keen interest and active part in the production of class-room films. We learn that the basis of each film-play is the lesson in their class, and there the pupils are given the main outlines of the subjects they are to film. They are generally shown pictures, prints and other illustrations of the period, which are all put through the school episcopes. And when these children become thoroughly soaked in the proper atmosphere, the play is rehearsed a few times, and every child in the class is required to take some share in the proceedings. Then the filming takes place out in the playground. All the equipment, dresses and costumes necessary are supplied by the children themselves, and so great and bouyant has been their enthusiasm that no difficulties

have been encountered in this matter. And even when horses and donkeys have been required, the children have been found to bring them to school. They have nicely fashioned the wooden weapons necessary for warlike scenes, and they have encouraged their mothers to make the period costumes so essential for period films. But as no colours are shown on the screen and since every device likely to stimulate the imagination is used, the costumes and properties are of the simplest type.

The cinema films can further offer much aid to physical and moral education. We can have, for instance, really educative films displaying many great physical feats and gymnastics of the wrestlers and heroes which will automatically have a strong appeal to our children and will inspire and induce them to pay greater attention to their physical development. Our pupils can again draw various moral lessons from the pieces of plays enacted on the screen. If the subject-matter is rightly and judiciously chosen, we can help them to realise the bitter and painful consequences of the wrong-doers and see the rewards achieved by the honest and the virtuous. From these vivid pictures, they can themselves derive ample moral lessons and find opportunities for ennobling and elevating their minds.

In the field of rural uplift and village and mass education much can be done by means of the cinema. Not only will it interest the village audience for the temporary period but it will truly educate them by showing them the realities. We are all aware of the wretched conditions of village sanitation. Most of the village-folk are still groping in the dark, and in numbers they are dying only out of their sheer ignorance. The others fall easy victims to incurable diseases and epidemics. If such people could only be made somehow to see and realise the dangers of bad sanitation and the root causes of these terrible diseases and epidemics which mostly spread out and take virulent forms because of their carelessness, and if they could be enlightened of the possible remedies for their prevention and cure, they would indeed be much benefited and would know how to save themselves and others. Lantern slides and the use of Epidioscope can be much effective in this direction. Here, an instructor can talk to the people and explain things every time a new picture is flashed on the screen. The Calcutta Corporation is indeed doing a great service by holding such lectures illustrated with lantern slides in the primary schools under its jurisdiction, and the Students' Welfare Committee

of the University of Calcutta also organises from time to time such illustrated lectures with a view to enlightening the students and the general public of various educative things by pictorial means. But there is yet further scope and ample demand for the extension of such 'cinematographic education' in rural areas, too, so that our mofussil students may reap the advantage of learning many things in a concretized and psychological manner.

In this connection, we might mention that the one great advantage of public cinemas is this that they can furnish us with the current news of the world with the information of the latest scientific discoveries and inventions attained and with any other useful pieces of knowledge and culture, in a brief yet stimulating way. All this can help our pupils to improve and add to the stock of their general knowledge and experience. And those who object to their seeing of cinemas on the ground of its affecting the health of the boys and girls in crowded atmosphere, will be glad to know that attempts are now being made to improve the physical conditions of the cinema houses by removing the attendant evils regarding ventilation, etc.

In schools, however, films as instruments of education have not yet been practically introduced in India, owing to various difficulties the foremost of which is that most of our schools cannot even purchase an Epidioscope or a magic lantern, and they cannot possess educational films of their own. Secondly, though their value is inestimable it has not been quite realised yet except by a few progressive and modern educationists and psychologists. Hence there is the lack of proper organisation owing to the ignorance of the masses and the want of sufficient culture and education amongst most of our parents and guardians. But considering the utility of such a means of practical education, as indicated above, it is absolutely essential that special films should be prepared for educational purposes and mainly suiting the requirements of our children, as the majority shown in public cinemas are definitely bad. There must be a huge organisation carrying on this scheme of work.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that there is a growing recognition of the utility of such a constructive programme of work, and let us hope that in course of a very short time educational films dealing with topics on History, Geography, Science, Nature Study and even Literature will be introduced in our schools and welcomed by the authorities for giving them a fair trial, for certainly they

can be regarded as excellent means for imparting lessons. For practical purposes the filming may be done with a 16 m.m. motion-picture camera which does not require any high degree of technical skill to handle at and it is also fairly economical to maintain. This equipment, of course, only makes silent pictures which is all the average school can hope to achieve. But when the children will be required to learn the various speech parts the sound films will serve the purpose.

The time will come when films will be playing a greater part in the education of children, and school life will then be less boring, school books prove more interesting and the teacher less important in the matter of child education. But it is true that we do not, of course, advocate making the pictures and the visual aids the all important factor in education. The screen should merely supplement the book-knowledge: for gold is not to be sacrificed for the gilt and instruction for superficiality.*

* Read at the Thirtieth Conference of the All-India Federation of Educational Association held in Calcutta.



ECONOMIC AUTARCHY AS EMBODIED IN THE GERMAN FOUR-YEAR PLAN

DR. BENOT KUMAR SARKAR, DOCTEUR EN GÉOGRAPHIE HONORIS CAUSA

GOERING'S PLANNED ECONOMY

Centralized rationalization on the one hand and economic "autarchy" or self-sufficiency on the other together with the attempt to render imports dependent on the volume of exports constitute the fundamental features of the Four-Year-Plan as organized by General Goering, the Premier of Prussia, for Germany in January 1937, according to the instructions of Adolf Hitler in September 1936.

To a certain extent one may see in this economic planning or planned economy of Goering for Germany something like a copy of the three Five-Year-Plans of Soviet Russia. From other viewpoints it may be regarded as the German edition of the British and French Imperial Preferences.

The technical, economic, financial and social bearings of this comprehensive and totalitarian planning are regularly described in the monthly journal, *Der Vierjahresplan*, edited by Dr. Erich Gritzsch (Berlin) since January 1937. The directions come, of course, from Goering who is the *Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan* (authority for the Four-Year-Plan). This monthly journal is being liberally drawn upon for the purposes of the present paper.

The First Four Years of New Germany

At the outset it is proper, however, to get an objective idea of the ascending curves of German economy since the establishment of the Nazi regime in 1933.¹

The following statistical survey shows the indices of the economic development in Germany during the period from 1933 to 1936 (*Institut für Konjunkturforschung*, Berlin, February 10, 1937) :

¹ L. Sübert : *Die neuen Wege in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (Mösch 1936), pp. 39, 44, 56 ; M. Franzmüller : *Ideen und Gestalt der staatlichen Neuordnung* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 26, 29 ; *Deutschlands Wirtschaftslage am der Jahresende 1936-37* (Reichskreditgenossenschaft, Berlin, 1937).

I. The Control of Unemployment.

	Unit	1932	1933	1935	1936
Unemployed	A. Mill.	5,10	3,85	1,71	1,04
Unemployed assisted by public welfare.	A. Mill.	2,05	1,94	0,47	0,24
Workers and employees in jobs.	A. Mill.	12,58	13,08	16,00	17,15
Daily working-hours in industrial branches.	A. Hours	6,31	7,16	7,41	7,59

II. Production.

Indus. production value (2)	B. Bill. RM	34,6	37,6	48,1	60,1
Agricultural production value	B. "	8,7	9,8	11,6	12,0
Real property, volume	A. 1928-100	79	77	101	...
Indus. production volume	A. 1928-100	89	88	96	106
Agricultural production volume	A. 1928-100	104	110	119	114
Pitcoal extraction	B. Mill. tons	104,7	103,9	140	158,4
Steel production	B. Mill. tons	5,77	7,61	16,12	19,16
Cement production	B. Mill. tons	67	8,69	8,81	12
Paper production	B. Mill. tons	1,80	1,50	2,23	2,43
Textile production	A. 1928-100	79	91	91	99
Boat and shoe production	B. Mill. pairs	60	71	71	76
Share of native food provisions in the consumption	A. %	75	81	83	84

III. Investments—State-controlled.

Real investments	B. Bill. RM.	3,9	5,1	11,0	13,8
Inland sales of machines	A. 1928-100	25	42	138	188
Newly-built dwellings	B. 1000	131	138	218	270
Mercantile ships, construction started	B. 1000 GRT	6	24	310	406
Reich motor-roads } days worked }	B. Millions	...	0,1	25,0	27,5
Permits for motor-luries (4)	B. Licenses in 1000's	7,3	11,6	27,3	30,00
Agricultural purchases of fertilizing products	B. Mill. RM	522	567	728	...

IV. Foreign Trade.

Imports	S. MIL. RM.	4667	4224	4159	4218
Exports	S. MIL. RM.	6799	4871	4270	4768
Import Surplus	S. MIL. RM.
Export Surplus	S. MIL. RM.	1072	667	111	560

V. Transportation.

Goods despatched on Reich Railway (E)	S. MIL. tons	242	283	351	399
Reich Railway receipts	S. MIL. RM.	2,20	2,22	3,59	3,20
Reich parcel post (7)	S. MIL. pieces	254	239	270	292
Trunk calls (tel.)	S. MIL.	231	220	263	248
Tourist traffic in 200 places (8)	S. MIL.	3,34	3,20	4,52	5,19
Stock of motor vehicles (9)	S. MIL.	1,62	1,62	2,16	2,47

VI. Finance.

Reich receipts from taxes, customs duties and other dues (10)	S. Bil. RM.	6,65	6,25	9,05	11,50
	Unit	1932	1933	1935 (1)	1936
Deposits at the Savings Banks (11)	S. Bil. RM.	11,4	12,1	13,8	14,6
Daily bank-rate	A. %	6,22	5,11	5,77	5,12
Rates on fixed-interest bearing securities 4 1/2 (5) %	A. %	66,2	62,4	65,2	66,2

VII. Income and Consumption.

National income	S. Bil. RM.	47,2	46,5	57,2	62,0
Turn-over in retail trade	S. ..	22,7	21,2	25,2	26,0
Permits granted to passenger motor cars	S. 1000	41,1	62,0	160,2	215,2
Licenses granted to motor bicycles (12)	S. 1000	68,4	57,2	125,2	164,9
Radio subscribers (13)	S. Mil.	4,21	5,05	7,19	8,17

Travellers with <i>Kraft durch Freude</i> (Strength through Joy) Fellowship Organisation	S. MIL. (2,0 in 1934)		3.0	5.0	
Increase or reduction in deposits at the Savings Banks ...	S. MIL. RM.	-328	+629	+971	+815
Premium receipts from life insurance (14)	S. MIL. RM.	749	724	579	940

NOTE. B—Yearly sum. A—Average of 12 months. (1) Partially estimated. The figures for 1936 also contain the Saar territory statistics. In 1935 the Saar figures are only partly taken into account. (2) Gross, on the basis of the monthly index figures. (3) Estimated at 2,200,000 to 2,800,000 million tons. (4) Including omnibuses and tricycles for heavy goods traffic over 300 cm. (5) Economic year. (6) Public traffic. (7) Ordinary parcels. (8) Applies in each case to the six summer months (April to September). (9) In each case as at July 1st. (10) Financial year. (11) Deposits as at the end of the year. (12) Up to 1934 including tricycles with net weight up to 250 kilos; from 1935 tricycles up to 300 cm. (13) Position as at the end of the year. (14) Large private and public insurance concerns. In each case as at the end of September.

In the economic domain the Hitler-state has implied a regime of recovery and expansion. For all practical purposes 1937 may be said to initiate the "second" Four-Year-Plan of Germany, because the first Four-Year-Plan commenced in 1933 with the *début* of the Nazi regime.²

RAW MATERIALS "CREATED" BY ENGINEERS AND CHEMISTS

As soon as General Goering, Prime Minister of Prussia, was entrusted (October, 1936) with the organisation of the Four-Year-Plan, the German Raw Materials Office was set up. The business of this office is to see to it that Germany is enabled as soon as possible to achieve *Autarkie*, i.e., to be independent, as far as this can be achieved, of the import of foreign raw materials.

A point of paramount importance is the provision of methods by means of which the less valuable of German ores may be brought to the foundries. The synthetic production of necessary raw materials from Germany's rather unlimited supplies of coal, salt, wood, water and air is the principal problem. Other possibilities such as the

² Sarkar : *The Hitler State* (Calcutta 1933), "Economic Planning as Defined by Hitler" (*Indian Commercial and Statistical Review*, Calcutta, July, 1933) "What is the Transfer Problem of Germany?" (*Calcutta Review*, September 1934), "Economic and Social Reconstructions in Germany" (*Empire Journal*, Calcutta, November and December, 1935).

planting of rubber and cotton on German soil have been abandoned owing to the unsuitability of the climate. Then there is the consideration that Germany's land is all needed for agriculture and cannot be sacrificed to serve the needs of industry. For these reasons, Germany's raw materials problems have been left for solution to the work of engineers and chemists. In Germany to-day raw materials are no longer the mere gifts of Nature, many of them are swiftly becoming the manufactures or creations of man. This is but another instance of *la géographie humaine*, i.e., geography being transformed by human energy and regions being reconstructed to serve the purposes of man.

SYNTHETIC PRODUCTS

Another of the important tasks of the new office is the organising of the change-over in industry to synthetic materials. This technocratic transformation is being attended to in a careful manner. Every effort is being made to encourage German manufacturers to try out and to work with these new materials. Articles and photographs are published to show their advantages, and exhibitions have been organised with this purpose in view. The most important of such exhibitions is the *Schaffendes Volk* (Creative People) Exhibition at Duesseldorf, which was opened by General Goering himself (1937).

General Goering's appeal to all classes of the people to send in their ideas of how the new materials might be employed in everyday life evoked thousands of answers. A special "Discoveries" department of the office shifts all suggestions sent in by amateurs to the proper quarters and undertakes all work in connection with patents and the protection of inventors.

The aim of the Four-Year-Plan is not to isolate Germany and restrict her commercial life to the limits of her frontiers. There is the decision to allow certain quantities of the new synthetic products to be exported. For instance, ten per cent. of the cellular wool production can now be sold abroad, and synthetic rubber (*bona*) is now being manufactured in such quantities that exports may be expected shortly. The quality of this new product is believed to be superior to that of natural rubber. Many of these new products and even their methods of production have been demonstrated at some of the big trade exhibitions.

AUTARKEY IN RAW MATERIALS AND FOOD STUFFS

According to Colonel Loeb, who is head of the raw material supplies department, Germany's chief problem to-day is her supply of iron. All efforts are being concentrated on increasing the home output of iron ore and substituting non-ferrous metals wherever possible. In the course of the next three years the production of aluminium is to be doubled, and magnesium, which is plentiful, is to be used very extensively as a substitute for iron. Wood, the valuable raw material from which cellular goods, sugar, spirits, petrol and artificial cork are made, is to be saved by burning coal and peat.

No less important is the increase in Germany's sheep breeding and the cultivation of hemp and flax. Loeb has predicted that Germany would be in a position to dispense with foreign supplies of motor spirit in three years. These are some of the specimens of *Autarkie* being attempted by the Hitler-State.

FIBRE WOOL

In accordance with a Government decree of April 10, 1937 *Zellwolle*, i. e., cell-wool or German fibre has been placed on the duty tariff, and has been statistically included in the list of exportable goods. The section of the German Foreign Trade Statistics dealing with this subject is divided into three sub-sections, "Fabricated and Unfabricated Cell Wool," "Woven Cell Wool" and "Goods manufactured from Cell Wool." The principal buyers of this product are Switzerland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. German imports of fibre wool are drawn chiefly from Italy (which, until 1936 was the greatest manufacturer of it in the world and which sent into Germany 93% of her imports of the material). From January to May, 1937, Germany imported cell wool to the value of 2,887,000 Reichsmarks.

BUILDING MATERIALS

In connection with the Four Year-Plan, it is regarded as extremely important that the buildings needed by the state and by industry shall be forthcoming. These essential buildings include those required for the army, for the manufacture of raw materials and for public services as well as houses and settlements for workers.³ Goering has issued a

³ P. Seidte : *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 18-22.

number of decrees relating to the reasonable distribution of builders' labourers throughout the country and a rational management of stocks of building material. Any large building enterprises to be undertaken have first to be reported to the local labour office so that it may be seen whether they are necessary or not. The introduction of cheap building processes and methods by which savings of any sort could be achieved has been left to the discretion of the trade.

The present position of Germany with regard to raw materials has made it essential to take steps to use all building materials as sparingly as possible and to prevent any waste at all. This is especially vital with regard to iron and steel, of which there is a shortage not only in Germany, but also throughout the rest of the world. In order to ensure that materials are employed only where they are really necessary, local building authorities have been ordered to take into consideration, when new buildings are projected, the situation with regard to raw materials and to sanction only the erection of such buildings as are really needed. Conditions can be laid down when permission is accorded to use building materials that are regarded as essential.

One of the first orders in connection with the decree under discussion has reference to the ways by which iron can be saved by the employment of certain new building methods. The Minister of Labour intends to keep the trade informed of all new processes, which research and experience prove to be satisfactory, and by these means to stimulate builders to be as sparing as possible with their materials. Industrial Building Groups also publish articles and pamphlets, showing the necessity of saving materials wherever possible and give details regarding economy methods. The Raw Materials Office has laid down certain principles regulating the distribution of building materials, and these must be obeyed by the trade.

INDIA'S JUTE MONOPOLY THREATENED

India, producing 90% of the world's jute supply, possessed until a short while ago, as is well known, a virtual world monopoly. Jute, however, is now being planted in Australia, South America, Siam, China and Java, although nowhere amongst these is full value material being produced. The fibre obtained is frequently far too woody. In the Dutch Indies and in the Portuguese colony, Angola, therefore,

attempts are being made to grow some kind of substitute for jute and to cultivate extensively the new fibre plant, *Urena. Gobata*. In some of the South American states cotton fibre is replacing jute fibre, because cotton does not have to be imported.

Germany, by the passing of a series of measures, has also greatly decreased her jute imports. Between April, 1935 and January, 1936 no less than 132,417 tons of raw jute were imported from India, while the amount sank during the same period in 1936-37 to 73,488 tons. In January, 1936, 15,769 tons of raw jute were imported into Germany, but in January, 1937 the amount was reduced to only 1,366 tons, that is to say, to less than 10% of the previous year's figure.

This result has been obtained by a stern supervision of jute packing, and of replacing pure jute packing by a mixture of jute, flax and hemp, of which the two last are raised in Germany. No old jute sacks are permitted to be discarded, but after cleaning and repairing, they are used again. The highest prices were paid for used sacks, and this led to their being sent immediately to those places where they were most needed for the purposes of the Four-Year Plan.

Much research work is being done in the effort to obtain fibre from German plants. For this purpose straw and reeds have proved particularly valuable, while heath and willow have produced fibre of so fine a quality that it seems wrong to use it for packing. The more successful Germany is in her hemp and flax harvest, and if, in addition, she can successfully cultivate certain oil-yielding fruits, the sooner will she be able to free herself entirely from dependence on the Indian jute monopoly. This is the aim of the efforts now being made. This aspect of German "autarchy" and transformations in the world-economy will no doubt be carefully noted by Indian economic statesmen.

FOOD SUPPLY

Sometime ago, Dr. Hilgenfeldt, Leader of the National Socialist People's Welfare, announced that certain measures would be adopted to stimulate home food supply, in connection with the Four-Year-Plan, and that these measures would be effective in all German towns. By means of using all kitchen waste products, a series of piggeries are to be kept going in each town. The aim is to breed

an extra 1,000,000 pigs. In more than 50% of small and medium sized towns throughout the country, these municipally supported piggeries have already been established.

Hilgen-lit has now received authority from Goering to commandeer and use all kitchen waste material, so that he can further his plans with the full weight of the state to support him. This authority is effective in every district, and it seems likely that home food supply and the breeding of animals for food in this particular manner will proceed at a high rate in the future.

THE EXHIBITIONS OF 1937 AS INTERPRETED BY HITLER AND VON RIBBENTROP

The Motor Exhibition in Berlin (1937) demonstrated the part to be played by the "new" raw materials in the automobile world. While opening the exhibition, Hitler laid the greatest emphasis upon the effect of the Four-Year-Plan on the automobile industry, and with no less force he dwelt upon the importance of this industry in the sphere of Germany's foreign trade. "It is obvious," he declared, "that we will leave no stone unturned in order to develop and improve our international relationships and to stimulate trade. I believe that the increasing export returns shown in the automobile industry are a proof of the fact that we, in this country, do not dream of economic isolation."

Other industrial exhibitions have followed one another in quick succession throughout the summer, all of them giving point to Hitler's speech at the Motor Show. At the German Textile Exhibition, new synthetic materials and weaving stuffs were shown to the world. In May, the great *Schaffendes Volk* exhibition was opened at Dusseldorf, and here could be seen a comprehensive display of all the new materials manufactured to-day in Germany.

Earlier in the year the Leipzig Spring Fair gave foreign visitors an impressive display of these materials. At its opening von Ribbentrop, German Ambassador to England, delivered a speech on the subject of National Socialist economic policy, in which he described the new Four-Year-Plan as a self-help measure. "It may be," he stated, "that a few large oil, rubber or cotton concerns will do less business with Germany, but, taking a broad view of world trade, this will hardly weigh in the scale. What is of importance is that the

standard of living of the German people must logically follow upon the production of synthetic materials from basic substances found within our own borders, and that this increased buying capacity will find its satisfaction finally in world markets."

SCHACHT'S FOREIGN TRADE POLICY OF 1934

In 1934, Hjalmar Schacht, Minister of Imperial Economy and President of the Reichsbank, announced the new foreign trade plan at the Leipzig Autumn Fair. The fundamental purpose of this plan was defined in the following terms:—"not to purchase more than can be paid for and above all only to buy what is necessary for use." Schacht proclaimed thereby that the economic aim in view was, first, to bring foreign trade into line with the requirements of mutual commercial relations, and secondly, to make the imports of Germany dependent on her exports. Account was taken also of the eventual increase in raw material production of Germany so as to secure a revival in the activity of the German internal market. The Four-Year-Plan initiated in 1937, the object of which is to secure the independence of German raw material supplies, is therefore but a continuation of the principles underlying the foreign trade plan as proclaimed in 1934. In pursuance of this aim, German imports were brought into line with and made *dependent* upon German exports. As far as actual figures go, German exports in 1936 increased by nearly Rm. 500,000,000, whereby the export surplus went up from Rm. 111,000,000 in 1935 to Rm. 650,000,000 in the following year. The corresponding rise in imports was only a very slight one. This in commercial *Autarkie* in action.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

The counter-value of the export surplus, however, can only be partially used for financing the imports. Hardly more than 25 % of the export proceeds were actually received in the form of foreign exchange. This was however not available for ordinary purposes, as numerous payment agreements exist with the purchasing countries, which means that the foreign exchange in question is earmarked for certain specific purposes. A large portion of the foreign exchange coming into the country has to be used for the payment of debts

contracted on goods account and for the transfer of interest, and what remains over is required for the settlement of incidental expenses connected with merchandise traffic. Similar obligations exist for the portion of the export proceeds on clearing credit account, a large proportion of which is earmarked for settlement of the debt service and financing the tourist traffic.

This is clearly evidenced in the German-Swiss agreement. If in the calculation of the trade-balance the German balance of accounts is taken into consideration as a basis and not the foreign trade statistics, we arrive at much lower figures. That Germany's importing capacity is exclusively dependent on the amount of the export proceeds,—such as are not earmarked for debt redemption and other obligations,—becomes almost self-evident. Certain figures tell their own tale. The working-balance in 1935 showed a deficit of Rm. 102,000,000. Likewise did the tourist traffic in the Olympiade year (1936) bring no actual foreign exchange into the country, as most of the visitors had "Register Marks."

It is necessary to point out *en passant* that "Register Marks" represent a factual devaluation of the German currency. Although Germany has not legally and formally devalued the entire currency she has introduced effective devaluation to a certain extent and for certain purposes. For instance, this devaluation of Reichsmarks is enjoyed by foreigners travelling in Germany. With their foreign monies they get more Reichsmarks per unit for the purposes of travel in Germany than they can obtain abroad on the open market. The German money that they get for such purposes by exchanging their own monies is called "Register Marks."

The extraordinary increase in the number of foreigners who visited the Leipzig Spring Fair in 1937 (2,000 more than the highest level reached before the crisis of 1929-32), and the almost twofold number of firms who had exhibits (478 in 1936 and 914 in 1937) show the great interest displayed by foreign countries in the fair held in connection with the second Four-Year-Plan. Though foreign purchasers were able to take delivery of their goods in the customary form of manufacture, *i. e.*, made of foreign raw materials, as the restrictions regarding the use of natural textile raw stuffs and metals which are lacking (lead and tin) only apply to the internal market, export orders were nevertheless passed for deliveries of products manufactured from the "new" materials.

AUTARCHY NOT INVOLVING ISOLATION

Naturally, the autarchic measures of the German Four-Year-Plan are not calculated to place Germany in splendid isolation,—no more than are the Imperial Preference measures of England and France or the ordinary tariff policies of the U. S. A. and other countries planned to declare these regions closed to world-trade. In other words, neither Germany nor any of these countries is heading towards a *geschlossener Handelsstaat* (closed commercial state) of Fichte. In all these endeavours we should rather watch the realization of what may be called *neo-protectionism* as contrasted with the 100 per cent. free trade or 100 per cent. protection of pure theory.*

The reference to the Russian plans must not blind us, however, to the fact, that the efforts of the Soviets since 1910 and especially since 1928 are but the attempts of an essentially agricultural and relatively unindustrial region to get industrialized at break-neck speed and catch up to the technocratic and capitalistic achievements of the "industrial adults" of Western Europe and America. But Germany previous to the advent of the Nazi power in 1933 was already a hyper-industrialized state. What the Nazi regime has set before itself is to raise this hyper-industrialized territory to the next higher flights of technocracy and capitalism adapted to the requirements of the "second industrial revolution."

The universal character of national-socialistic economics has been well recognized by Wiskemann when he observes that in the struggle against *laissez faire stehen wir Deutsche nicht allein* ("we Germans are not alone"). He refers to Keynes the British economist and Boucke the American as some of those scholars who have in theory promulgated the disappearance of the free trade period. They are described by Wiskemann as having but scientifically recognized a state of things which has been confirmed in practice by the economic policy of all countries. †

* Sarkar : *Applied Economics*, Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1932) and *Imperial Preference vis a vis World-Economy* (Calcutta, 1931).

† E. Wiskemann : *Der Weg der deutschen Volkswirtschaftslehre* (Berlin, 1931), p. 9. See also Schacht's lecture on the dangers of over-emphasis on the international division of labour at the *Bund der Freunde der Technischen Hochschulen München* (Munich, 1935).

THE CHANCES FOR INDIA

The expansion of German economic activity is bound to have good repercussions on the industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises of other lands. The engineers, technical experts and commercial houses of foreign countries including India ought to watch the developments of the Four-Year-Plan under Hitler and Goering with optimism for themselves as well as for world-economy. For, in order to foster German prosperity and make an effective use of it German business houses, large, medium and small, will find it desirable, nay, necessary and expedient,—of course under the new directions of their government, and especially of the *Vierjahresplan* authority. General Goering,—to take the help of foreign experts and business heads as colleagues, agents and assistants. So far as India is concerned, the prospects of her overseas trading houses acting in co-operation with the central commercial authorities of the German people, to the mutual advantage of India and Germany, should appear to be rather bright. The foreign affairs department of the Indian National Congress as well as the Indian Trade Commissioner of the Government of India at Hamburg might investigate these prospects in a realistic manner.

PRINCIPLES OF FINANCING

The financing of the Plan is difficult not only because of the magnitude of the schemes envisaged under it, but also because of the special conditions that have to be taken into consideration. The German Government desires to lessen the country's dependence on imported raw materials as quick as possible,—at break-neck speed, so to say,—so that it is necessary to proceed with a maximum of speed. Moreover, in numerous instances technical risks have to be taken, the available time being too short to reduce them by much experimenting on a smaller scale. The rapid pace at which the various projects have to be carried out may not necessarily be due to reasons connected with "defence economics." A very important consideration is the fact that signs of a raw material shortage have begun to show themselves in the world's markets.

The projects contemplated under the Plan differ from most of the "work-creating" schemes carried out by the Government in recent years in that they rely predominantly upon individual initiative and private responsibility, even though their technical and economic

consequences cannot yet be foreseen. For this reason, preference is given—during the early stages—to firms that are able and willing to invest a considerable amount of their own capital in the realization of the schemes. It is sometimes necessary to subject the initiative of the entrepreneur to restrictions, e.g., when it has to be stipulated in view of the funds invested by the Government itself that the consent of the Board for Raw Materials must be obtained before the private firm can enlarge the scope of its activities, etc. On the other hand, it is sometimes provided in the contracts that a premium is to be paid to the private firm if it is found possible to reduce the cost of production below the figure originally fixed. Such a possibility, of course, has a stimulating effect upon industrialists.

In all schemes it is necessary, in the joint interest of both parties, to make sure that the financial status of the entrepreneur does not suffer. Industrialists have been asked to submit proposals that will ensure compliance with this need. The suggestions thus received are mainly concerned with (a) the price position and (b) taxation relief.

The suggested increase in prices, however, is open to the objection that it would conflict with the regulations by which commodity prices are fixed. This applies, more particularly, whenever the private firms' share in financing the scheme is very large. Similar considerations suggest themselves in connection with the proposal that the firms should be permitted to write off a larger amount for depreciation than is normally regarded as adequate. Taxation facilities, on the other hand, are generally held out with a certain liberality. But in this respect, too, a line must be drawn somewhere, as the concessions made by the Government must not be allowed to interfere with its own financial needs. Besides, it may be assumed in the majority of cases that the new factories will stand a good chance of paying their way once they are in working order.

Another problem that emerges from a study of the financial position is that of the rate of interest. The Government's policy aims, for social as well as economic reasons, at an all-round lowering of the rate, whilst industrialists wish to earn as much interest on their invested capital as they possibly can. It may be difficult to arrive at a mutually satisfactory solution of this problem in all cases, but a relatively high rate of interest is frequently justified in view of the nature of the projects involved.

Finally, the financing of the schemes may be effected by resort to the capital market. There, however, it is necessary for the Plan to proceed with due moderation and to pay consideration to the Government's consolidation policy. As regards the private undertakings, the issue of shares usually enables them to realize a certain profit, so that this method has a special appeal to them.

October 28th, 1937 was the first anniversary of the day on which General Goering announced the introduction of the second Four-year-Plan; the aim of which is to lessen the dependence of German economy upon foreign supplies thereby introducing commercial *Autarkie*. In the country itself, two difficulties had to be overcome in connection with the Plan. The one was concerned with the belief expressed here and there that the newly invented materials were merely inferior substitutes for others, whilst the other related to the question of financing their production. A certain distrust of the new materials was not without foundation. It was a by-product of the War, when numerous inferior substitutes were offered to the public, not only in Germany, but elsewhere too. To-day, however, it may not appear to be justified. Every new material is carefully tested by the Raw Materials Board. No new raw material is released until this office has satisfied itself that it is at least equal to, if not superior to the natural raw material concerned. Should it happen that a certain material, after being released, is found unsuitable for its purpose, its withdrawal from the market is arranged for. The "authoritarian" regime of the country makes such withdrawal possible without difficulty.

The financial aspect proved somewhat more difficult, as it was desired that nothing should be done to cramp private initiative. But in this matter, too, National Socialism has refrained from compulsion and rigid uniformity. Where the object that requires financing is but small, it is financed out of the undertaking's own funds. Where larger objects are concerned so that shares have to be offered for investment, the ban on new issues is specifically relaxed by arrangements made with the Reich Minister of Economy. A third method is that of resorting to credits supplied by a bank consortium, and a fourth, though rarely used, is the granting of Government credits. Colonel Loeb, the head of the Raw Materials Board calculates that the respective percentages of funds secured by the various methods in the order named are: 30%, 50%, 8% and 12%. Thus,

the principle of financing the cost privately has been very largely applied. Generally speaking, it may be said that the means supplied by public funds are used for the scientific work entailed by the Plan. The working of the scheme in its entirety is the outcome of a mixed form of national economy in which both the State and the private capitalists play their parts for the benefit of the whole commonwealth.



THE URANOS LEGEND AND ITS INTERPRETATION

P. R. SEN M.A., F.R.S.

I

GREEK TEXTS

Hesiod, *Theogony*, Verses 126-210:

".....Earth first bare a being equal to herself, capable of covering her on every side,—the starry Heaven (Uranos), who would offer to the blessed gods an everlasting place for residence. She brought forth to the world also the long hills and the nymphs, the sea, sea-weeds, etc., without the help of sweet love. But afterwards, from the embraces of the Heaven, she bare Ocean (Okeanos) with deep whirl-pool; Koios and Krios and Hyperion and Iapetos,—Theia, Rhea, Themis and Mnemosyne,—Phoibe, crowned with gold, and the lovely Tethys. After them was born the youngest, Kronos, the wily god, the most terrible of her children, for Kronos hated his lusty sire. She bare to the world also the Kyklopes with violent spirit, other sons were yet born of Earth and Heaven,—three sons: big and strong, who may be named with difficulty and daring: Kottos and Briareos and Gyes, children full of arrogance: they had each a hundred arms..... and fifty heads.....the powerful vigour in their large stature was irresistible. Their father hated them since their birth, because they were the most terrible of all the children born of Earth and Heaven. Hardly had they been born when instead of taking them see the light he hid them all in the womb of the Earth. This misdeed pleased Heaven, but the vast Earth, suffocating, groaned in its depths. She then thought of a treacherous, cruel ruse. Swiftly she created the white steel metal; she made a big bill-book and spoke thus to her children: "Sons born of a wild being and myself, if you trust me, we will avenge the criminal outrage of a father who conceived infamous deeds for the first time. [All the sons, seized with fear, were silent. Kronos was entrusted with the operation.].....The vast Earth rejoiced greatly at heart. She hid him, placed him in ambush, then put in his hands the big bill-book with jagged teeth and explained to

him the whole plot. And the vast Heaven came, bringing on night; and, covering Earth, all hungry with love, approached her extended in all his limbs. But Kronos from his hiding place stretched out his left hand, while with the right he seized the big, long bill-hook with jagged teeth; and he swiftly cut off the limbs of his father that they might then fall behind him. It was not however a vain wreck that thus fell from his hand. The drops of blood gushed forth; Earth received them all, and in course of the years she gave birth to the strong Erinyes, and the great giants,.....and the Nyrophs also whom they call Meliai.And the members, hardly had he struck them with the steel and flung them from the earth into the sea ever moving restlessly, were carried away for a long time over the open expanse, and round them a white foam spread from the divine flesh. From this foam was born a daughter [Aphrodite, who landed at Kythera next to Cyprus.....]. Love and the comely Desire straight way made up her train."

Verses 463-506 [Episode of Kronos and Zeus: Kronos learnt from Earth and Heaven that he would one day succumb under his own son. So he devoured all his children. But Rhea saved the last, Zeus, substituting for him a thick stone. When Zeus had grown up, Kronos became old and "vanquished by the skill and strength of his son" vomitted the stone and after it, the children.]: "And from the deadly bonds he set the brothers free, the sons of Heaven, whom their father had bound in his folly. These did not forget to recognise the benefits; they gave him the thunderbolt, the shining light and the flash, which had previously caught the vast Earth, and on which Zeus in future resolved to command over mortals and immortals at the same time."

Apollodore, Biblioth., I 1-7:

"Uranos was the first sovereign of the Universe. He married Gea and had for his first children Hécatonkhires, Briareos, Gyés, Kottos, unrivalled for their height and also for their strength, provided with a hundred arms and fifty heads. Next came the Kyklopes, Argus, Steropé, Bronté, each with an eye on his forehead. Those Uranos enchained and threw into Tartary, a gloomy place in Hades, as much removed from the Earth as the Earth is from Heaven; next he produced with Gea sons named Titans, Oceanus, Koios, Hyperion, Krios, Iapétos and, last of all, Kronos,—as well as daughters named Titanides Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoibe, Dèonè, Teia.

" Exasperated by the loss of her children thrown into Tartary, Gea persuaded the Titans to attack their father and she gave a scythe of steel to Kronos. The Titans, except Oceanus, attacked their father and Kronos struck him in the genitals and threw them into the sea. From the drops of blood which fell came in Erinyes, Alekto, Tisiphone, Megaira. Having thrown him down from power, they brought back their fathers from Tartary, and gave the power to Kronos.

" But he claimed them again and sent them to Tartary, having married his sister Rhea. Next, Gea and Uranus having foretold that the power would be taken away from him by his own son, he swallowed all those who were born to him: Hestir at first, then Demetu and Hera, then Pluto and Poseidon. Disgusted, Rhea took herself off to Crete when she was big with Zeus and gave birth to him in the cave of Dikta. [Next follows the ordinary history of the infancy of Zeus, the substitution of the stone to his father, etc.]

" When Zeus had grown up, he secured the help of Metis, daughter of Oceanus, who drugged Kronos on which he vomitted the stone, and, along with it, the children whom he had swallowed. Then Zeus began the war between Kronos and Titans. They struggled for ten years. Gea prophesied victory for Zeus if he could secure the alliance of those who had been thrown down into Tartary. He killed Kampes in guard over their fetters, and freed them. Then the Kyklopes gave to Zeus the thunder and the lightning, to Pluto the helmet of hide, to Poseidon the trident. Thus armed, they vanquished the Titans and shut them up in Tartary under the guard of the Hekatonkhirois. They divided the power between themselves as follows: Zeus received the sovereignty of Heaven, Poseidon of the sea, Pluto of Hades."

Orphics—

The Orphic theogonies attested by several authors give to Uranos an uncertain place in the beginnings of the world. The texts are found collected in the *Aglaophamus* of Lobeck (1829), in the *Orphica* of Eug. Abel (1885) and in the *Orphicorum Fragmenta* of O. Kern (1912). O. Gruppe has studied them at length, as well as the Hesiodic texts, in his book *Die griechische Culte und Mythen* I (1887). It is important to observe here that O. Gruppe has shown that the theosapata (Διὸς ἀπέταξις) episode in the *Iliad* contains much matter taken from a theogony of the Orphic type, which is thus found to be

more ancient than the fragments collected by Lobeck and Abel seem to show. As Uranos does not appear in the version retained, after some manipulation, by Homer, some scholars have concluded, a little too hastily, that the god cannot claim authenticity and he is of an artificial character. O. Gruppe had been more wise (*op. cit.*, p. 618): "Uranos and Gaia," says he, "have not been mentioned in the *Travesty*, and as her name cannot possibly be missed in a detailed theogony, specially as Gaia certainly, and Uranos possibly, attained divine abstraction in Homer, this is another ground to give her priority to Oceanos, and the work is silent as to what follows."—This is quite reasonable.

The different texts having been given, the orphic versions would be cited only here and there, as occasion arises, in the following discussions.

II

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LEGEND

Such are the diverse forms of the legend of Uranos. Yielding to a taste common with the philologists, Gruppe has multiplied them. By an analysis which claims to clear up the "contradictions" or at least the incoherences, he declares he has established that the Hesiodic account was the result of the fusion of two or three different versions. We shall show later that these contradictions do not exist. And also between the accounts of Hesiod and Apollodorus and the Orphic fragments, the discrepancies are not so great as to make it perilous to speak of the legend of Uranos. Evolved, exploited differently in different circles, the matter is evidently the same everywhere, and the exigence good for one version would be equally good for the others.

Among the explanations proposed years ago, let us put together what appears to be solid or interesting. All the explanations are naturalistic: Uranos being at the same time the Sky and the Father of the world, his adventures may evidently, to a certain degree, retain or explain some celestial phenomena, real or imaginary, periodic or cosmogonic. This is certain. But according to the degree of importance attached to such or such a trait of the account, the Mythologists have taken diverse phenomena as the basis.

I. Andrew Lang¹ has collected a series of Polynesian myths occasionally preserved in most ancient hymns, of which the Maori² version is as follows.

In the beginning the Sky, Rangi, and the Earth, Papa, were the parents of all things. In those days the Sky was on the Earth and all was darkness. Never had they been separated. They had some children who, living and growing in that thick night, could see nothing and were therefore unhappy. Shut up between their parent's bodies, they could not catch even a ray of light. The names of the children were Tumatuenga, Tane Mahuta, Tutenganahau, and many others. Then they deliberated on what they should do with regard to their parents, Rangi and Papa: "Shall we slay them or separate them?—" "No," cried Tane Mahuta, "rather separate them; so that one shoots up and becomes a stranger to us, the other remains low and may be a parent to us." Only Tawhiri Matea (the wind) had pity on his parents. Then the gods of fruits, and the god of war, and the god of the Sea (because all the children of Rangi and of Papa were gods) tried to separate their parents. At last up rose the god of the Forest, the cruel Tutenganahau. He struck at the tendons which joined Heaven and Earth, then he pushed the head and the feet away. Then Heaven groaned and Earth cried: "Why this outrage? Why this atrocity? Why destroy us? Why separate us?" But he pushed and pushed. Rangi was sent far away in the air. "They were visible, those who till then had been concealed in the hollows of their parent's bowels." Only the god of the Tempest parted from his brothers; he rose, followed his father Rangi and lived with him in the open spaces of the sky.

A very clear cosmogonic mythology is involved here, explaining the distance of Heaven and of Earth, and the distribution of the god forces (the wind on high, all the others below) between the two regions. That Heaven and Earth, primordial and creative couple in the most different mythologies, were bound to be "separated," 'one day goes without saying, but it was necessary that they should touch each other for procreating and that, meanwhile, they should not touch each other any more. Tylor has picked up myths of separation of

¹ A. Lang, *Customs and Myth* (1884), pp. 45 ff.: the Myth of Kronos.

² History published by Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 1 ff.; reprinted, with parallels, by R. Tylor, *New Zealand*, pp. 114 ff. Cp. Waila-berland, *Anthropologie*, VI, (1872), pp. 245 ff.; A. Rivilla, *Les Religions des peuples non civilisés* (1883), II, pp. 27 ff., etc.—See other Polynesian variations of the myth in R. B. Dixon, *The Mythology of All Races*, IX (Oceanic), 1916, pp. 33 ff. with notes.

Heaven and Earth in China and in India (one may note in passing that the *Rig-Veda* placed the divorce of Heaven and Earth under "the law of *Varaṇa*"—a statement the sense of which we may grasp later).

The analogy between the "myth of Kronos" and the Polynesian tradition is such that A. Lang has tried to interpret the first, like the second, as a myth of the separation of Heaven and Earth. But, on closer study, the assumption seems to be bold.

1. The sure analogies are above all in the framework: Heaven and Earth form the first procreating couple, and the scene passes on to the origins of the world: but these are very commonplace beliefs which would not constitute an argument:

2. The other analogies, which may serve as arguments, imply on the contrary grave differences:

(a) Assuredly, like Kronos and his brothers, the Gods issued from the Polynesian couple are children in revolt who brutally wound their parents (Tumatuenga is also the proverbial type of ungrateful children). But, in the Polynesian tradition, the revolt of the children is not motivated by the fact, wholly material, that the permanent "adherence" of Earth and Heaven embarrasses them and they would come out of the difficulty, their violence results in some sort directly from the natural fabulous phenomenon which the legend implies; neither the personality nor the will of Heaven nor those of Earth intervene. On the contrary, in the Greek tradition, it is a drama, pertaining to the family and to politics: Uranos is the first sinner, Gea takes sides with her sons, the sons themselves rise less against Uranos the sky than against Uranos the king and Father.

(b) It may be admitted that the Greek drama is of secondary origin, being grafted on a myth as little psychological as the Polynesian. But one becomes involved in other difficulties, these being of the first importance: in none of the variations, is the Greek legend in any way a legend of separation of the Sky and the Earth. Ouranos and Gea have never been coupled, they do not meet occasionally (and still relatively, since the blood and the members of mutilated Uranos "drop") except for the sexual act. The result of Kronos' attempt is not to remove the sky, but to castrate his father and to deprive him of sovereignty. The version of Apollodorus also precisely states that before the drama there was a place Tartary as much below the Earth as the sky

is above it. If then it is supposed that the legend of Uranos has been originally a myth of separation, it is necessary to suppose also that among the Greeks that have related it there was none who had been aware of this meaning. Not only would be the psychological, political and other elements grafted, but these elements would stifle the ancient matter, eliminate the original meaning, and would in their turn grow essential. This is something which is improbable; a cosmogonic myth is by its nature transparent and remains indefinitely so, as much as "myths of the rains" or those "of the Sun." The Chinese and Indian traditions of the separation of the Earth and the Sky, just like the Polynesian tradition, are clear and do not even require any interpretation. On the contrary, the Greek tradition may not be interpreted as a myth of separation at the cost of being an exegesis to hypothesis. It is all the less commendable that the folklore of modern Greece has furnished to collectors a large number of authentic myths of separation of the Earth and the Sky, of different types, of which none reminds us either closely or distantly of the legend of Uranos. To be brief, it is necessary to be faithful to facts, and not to believe *a priori* that a revolt of Gods issued from the primitive couple Earth-Sky against their parents may not have for their object, and only effect, their "separation."

II. Other authors, from O. Gruppe to the most recent French editor of Hesiodic theogony, have been more attentive to the indications of the Greek texts and have placed in the centre of their exegesis a detail which is evidently essential: the castration of Uranos. Here is something, through many versions, common to these interpretations:

Uranos is the irregular procreator, the primordial father who creates without measure monsters of all forms. In order to put an end to their anarchic wickedness, to discipline the creative force, his son Kronos mutilates him and substitutes himself in his place. In some of the accounts, Aphrodite was born of the organs cut off from Uranos: now Aphrodite is the goddess of the ordered procreation. We cannot resist the temptation of reading again that argument in the brilliant form in which M. Paul Mazon has given it.¹

¹ In all the foregoing, I have accepted the discussion as if the Polynesian myth was a pure myth of "separation of the Earth and the Sky," as A. Lang would have wished it. It appears from researches carried on at the school of Higher Studies, by M. Marcel Mauss that the divine personalities concerned, Rangi among others, are otherwise complex. The conclusions of the present work are largely applicable to Polynesian myth, where, behind the explanation of a natural phenomenon, the sovereignty, the patercity, etc., play a role more important than Lang believed.

".....That which the sky gives birth to unceasingly, they are not beings similar to those who people the earth to-day, they are the monsters of all forms. The mysterious force which creates life, if nothing could regulate and control it, creates nothing but confusion and death: She destroys as soon as she brings it into existence. Heaven conceals his children, as soon as they are born, in the womb of earth. But Heaven is mutilated by his sons, and at last a period is placed to his odious and sterile fecundity. Aphrodite comes to reign in the world. Life will not be perpetuated henceforth indefinitely, at random; the power to beget would belong to creatures themselves: two beings mating together would be able to make life—two beings of the same kind, because love is only conceived within the species. The fixity of species is the first solid point to which the thought of the first human beings move, while, surveying with an anxious look the immensity of creation, it tries to discover there a principle of order. That, in the millions of beings of the same species, the same organs are always found similar in the same place for performing the same functions, so that nature may never be caught in the very act of caprice or error, have we not here a marvellous subject capable of becoming the starting point of a whole philosophy? And, in fact, is not that primitive impression found in the origin of one of the most learned and the most subtle doctrines of humanity? The platonic theory of ideas is possibly nothing but a refined translation of the sentiment which inspires the unknown inventor of the myth of the mutilated sky. One sees, adds M. Maxon, that the *Theogony* is interesting still more because it allows us to peep into the speculations of the first thinkers than because it reveals the thought of Hesiod himself."

Whatever may be the result of our criticism, it is clear that we ought to retain much of this exigesis of the humanists. It is important also in the sense that it has been surely, in some degree, the interpretation of the author of Hesiod's *Theogony*. The groans of the swollen Earth, the epithet of *θαλαροῦ* applied to Uranos at the moment of his castration, that is something which is clear. Assuredly, the Egyptian and Phœnician analogues which Gruppe has collected do not prove much, because they say only—like so many of the races, from the totemist Australia to the modern peasants of Caucasus—that, "at the beginning," the beings had forms now out of use and they do not consider the form which has passed away as a disorder nor as a peril which it is necessary to avert. But India, for example, attests sufficiently that

philosophies in early ages have faced this notion of "perilous procreation," of Order menaced by Fecundity, and to express it sensibly in exploiting old myths. Then the interpretation suggested by the Hesiodic poet is not surprising for us and does not go beyond the philosophical possibilities which may be reasonably attributed to the "unknown thinker."

But it is one thing to *exploit*, to interpret a myth already existing in order to be allowed to symbolise a philosophical thesis, and another to create the different pieces into a myth for the same ends. And it is just there that our criticism should be directed: as much as we are disposed to admit that a myth of God sky (*i.e.*, of the primitive Father-king) castrated, has been interpreted, and very early, as a myth of "the regularization of the fecundity," so much do we feel it disgusting to admit that the castration of this God has been invented by a "thinker" in order to illustrate that thesis. The march of the first philosophies is not like that: all the great Hesiodic myths—especially Prometheus, the Ages—are old, popular traditions used by the poet to new ends, generally moral. When philosophical reflexion wakes up with a people, with an "intellectual": it is not found before a reality unconnected with human interests: it is found before the chaos of mythical notions born with the language and with the activities of the ancestors, and solidly placed between the facts and the spirit; it is on this mythical notions which it operates upon, and not on "nature." Its work consists in co-ordinating them, analysing them, charging them with abstract ideas. So has the Hesiodic poet acted: he has neither 'invented' nor found it in nature, but in the myths and undoubtedly in the rites, the monsters with whom it peoples the growing universe; they are still there, it is the mystery of their "disappearance" which has caused for him the problem that he solves. Why postulate that he has on the contrary "invented" the myth which supplies him with the solution: the castration of Ouranos? Ouranos, his genitals cut off, Kronos, the monsters, all those may pre-exist, grouped already in a mythical whole, only in a whole the value of which may not be essentially philosophical, nor moral, but to some extent useful, in all cases much more real. The humanists have very often a tendency to see, in the "inventors" of the myths, of Plato, or simply of Heraclide, of the fleet-footed Plenty. True, the myths were born and flourished in obscure conditions, but almost always connected with

the rites: myths of "monstræ in gangs" are well likely to be born with the mystic rites, a myth of castration with castration rituals. It is only later, with nations well endowed, that the myth, however freed from its practical application, supplies matter for the epic poetry, the philosophical symbol.—and with races less gifted, matter for stories or the "historical" account. Now, if any cult of Uranos is not proved to us, Kronos, his reign and the end of his reign (and often Kronos seems to have been the "double" of Uranos) are material for the prevalent rites, partly known to us. Is it not imprudent to interpret the texts relating to the Uranides without examining as their parallel the rites relating to these same Uranides? May it not be supposed, *a priori*, that these rites are simply the subsequent acts of definite representation of the "mythic philosophies" freely invented by a disinterested poet? Then one comes to the absurdities: one might affirm, for example, that if, at Rhodes, a man was every year immolated to Kronos,—or if, at Athens, the festivals of Kronos in the month of hekatombeion had the lively ways of "Saturnalia" (masters fraternizing with the slaves, etc.), all this was to "illustrate" the sombre and grotesque history of the Uranides which the critical thinkers of the past had "imagined" to explain the genesis of the sexual order in the world.

To be brief, if the sexual elements (fecundity, procreation, castration, etc.) are due to play certainly an important rôle in the genesis of the history of the Uranides, it is rash to interpret them, to follow Hesiod blindly on the "philosophical" way where he is "discreetly" engaged. The philosophy is not at the origin of the myths: it makes use of it or it goes out.

Moreover, even if one resists these general criticisms of the principle, one would admit this: the history of Uranos and the Uranides does not establish the sexual order only; it establishes the political order, the moral order, the administration also of the world. Uranos is not only the incontinent male, he is also the tyrannical sovereign. The political *coup* of his sons not only castrates him but dethrones him. His successors improve, from generation to generation, not only the physiological life but also the social life. The evolution is completed (Apollodorus) by a veritable pact where the fully developed gods distribute to each other the provinces of the world. We have to go back after a long time upon that notion of sovereignty which dominates the history of the Uranides in all its versions and which is at least as

important as the notion of Fecundity,—Sovereignty and Fecundity being however (whoever has turned over the pages of the Golden Bough does not know it?) allied powers, and like two aspects of power. But it is already seen how risky it is to explain all, under the pretext that Uranos is castrated, by the reflection of a "thinker" upon the succession of sexual orders.

Gruppe himself seems to have felt the difficulty because, in the Hesiodic text, where he sees the cunning fusion of many versions, he points out the following contradiction (the "contradictions" revealing, according to him, the medley of two versions): among the children who revolted from Uranos, those, like Kronos, deprived him of his monstrous fecundity (thus confirming Gruppe's interpretation), but others, Kyklopes and Hekatonkheires, simply wanted to make him suffer the ill-treatment to which he had subjected them.

The following statement appears to be decisive. Kronos castrates the father for his extraordinary procreative power: this appears directly from the words as well as from the manner and the occasion for the performance of the action. As Uranos is a hindrance to the better order in the world on account of his unlimited procreative power, he is overtaken by Fate exactly at the moment he is satisfying his sexual appetite by depriving him of the power of further procreation. This clear and simple motive is expanded by the chapter which introduces the Kyklopes and Hekatonas; according to this piece Uranos hates his sons as they are strong, kills them in the lap of their mother Gaia, and it is this tragedy which causes his downfall. Consequently, the inter chapter which deals with Kyklopes and Hekatonas are to be excluded from version B in which the action is performed through Kronos.

We admire the facility with which the great philologists who ask the imprudent people who compare the texts to have respect for the texts,—who declare that there are, in these texts, contradictions, and they are authorised to re-arrange them. And if the contradiction is nothing but apparent? And what if the two wrongs, that of Kronos and that of the monsters, the incontinence and the tyranny, the excessive procreation and the abusive power, were nothing but complementary aspects, inseparable from the same mythic reality? The explanation which we may propose would be just sufficiently comprehensive to maintain the unity of the Hesiodic text in spite of its awkwardness, to reconcile the text with the other versions, and at the same time to keep

alive in a large measure the interpretation of the humanist. Because, let us repeat, we remember that the procreative power and the castration of Uranos are essential elements of the Greek legend.

We will only remind the reader of the attempts of Gruppe, of M. Mayer and of many other authors to derive the history of Uranos, like many other Greek legends, from oriental, semitic or Egyptian prototypes. The Greeks themselves divert themselves already, more or less wrongly, in assimilating their gods to "analogous" gods whom they came across at their neighbour's place. Now the god castrated and the god who castrates are not surely wanting in corresponding beings in Asiaminor and in Syria: some "strokes of the thumb" increase on the head of analogy,—which is undoubtedly the case with the Phoenician fragments used by Gruppe. Still more, recently, an author has tried to establish the oriental origin of the Uranos legend by an interpretation of the Tyszkiewicz Seal; M. Dussaud has shown that the scene depicted on the seal has no chance whatever of representing a castration of the Uranos type, that moreover the seal is not "Syro-anatolian," and that it would not consequently reinforce the authority or prove the authenticity of 'semitic' traditions of Philon of Biblos upon the Uranides.

It goes without saying that the oriental, semitic or other elements have not been mixed up in different epochs with the Greek legend (for example, the presence of Aphrodite is evidently doubtful). But the legend is original in its general outline.

We do not believe that the authors who, since some time past, have been deriving the Greek traditions systematically from Aegian traditions attested by the images, have yet proposed to explain "Aegian" of the ouranos legend! ¹*

¹ We do not say, well understood, Cretan elements are not evident from the "children of Zeus."

* Translated from "Ouranos-Varuna" by Georges Dumézil, 1924.

At Home and Abroad

New Ramkrishna Temple at Belur

A new temple of Sri Ramkrishna Math in Belur, 6 miles from Calcutta was opened in presence of hundreds of devotees and others. A marble statue of Sri Ramkrishna was installed therein, with due ceremony.

Miss Helen Ruble and Mrs. Ann Worcester, American disciples of the Mission, who attended the ceremony contributed 7 lakhs of rupees towards the construction of the new temple.

Another attempt on Nanga Parbat

A new attempt by German mountaineers to ascend the Nanga Parbat will be made this year, announced Carl Troll at the conclusion of a lecture to the Geographical Society at Madeg-burg. The expedition will be headed by Paul Bauer, who has led three German expeditions to the Himalayas.

Railway Board Reports

The Railway Board are working on a series of reports on the action already taken or are about to be taken in the near future on the recommendations of the Wedgwood Report. These reports will be laid at the table of the Central Legislature at the forthcoming session in accordance with the promise made in the Council of State at the Simla Session.

Next Bengal Budget

After four days' sittings under the presidency of Lord Brabourne, the Bengal Council of Ministers, it is understood, have concluded the Budget proposals. Several important schemes for economic and industrial development of the province will be the features of this year's budget. It is also believed that the budget will leave a surplus to the extent of about one crore.

Huge Navy for U. S. A.

The new Bill to strengthen the United States fleet will authorise a huge construction programme, embracing all types of naval vessels, announced Mr. Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House of Representatives of Naval Committee. He stated that legislation was ready and would be introduced in Congress as soon as President Roosevelt had sent his message to Congress detailing the programme.

Members of the House Committee declared that the plan had been approved and called for 20 per cent. increase over the tonnage limitations of

the defunct London treaty. One member said that an initial outlay of 125 million dollars had been foreseen.

Supreme Soviet's first Session

M. Stalin received an ovation lasting eight minutes, when the first Soviet Parliament opened in the former throne-room of the Czars.

Academician Bach, the white-bearded biologist of 81, presided over and formally opened the first session of the Supreme Soviet under the Stalin Constitution, and afterwards outlined the achievements of the Soviets since the revolution.

M. Androey, Honorary Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and former Commissar for Railways, was elected President.

Every inch of accommodation had been exhausted with the arrival of the last of the 1,143 deputies in Moscow.

Many deputies had been racing here from distances up to 6,000 miles since the moment of election, using reindeer and dog teams. Representatives of 150 nationalities made a motley array, including alb-eyed Mongols, swarthy Armenians, turbaned Uzbeks, and Eskimos. The deputies were mostly Government officials, but included 200 peasants, several milkmaids, and two charwomen.

The agenda included the election of a new Government, discussion of the Third Five-Year Plan, the budget and foreign affairs.

Insurgents Surrender at Teruel

The whole of Teruel has been occupied by Government troops following the surrender of the last of the garrison resisting at Santa Clara Convent, states a Spanish Government *communiqué* issued in Barcelona. The Bishop of Teruel is among those who have surrendered.

General Dollado, in a broadcast, denounces the insurgent commander who surrendered Teruel as a "traitor, scoundrel and criminal."

An insurgent *communiqué* at Salamanca admits that one centre of resistance in Teruel has succumbed after resisting for several days without water and that another has been evacuated by the garrison of 500 who withdrew with arms, accompanied by 100 peasants and the Mayor of Teruel.

French Crisis

It was officially stated that the French Government were not resigning, and that the political crisis was temporarily over. The Cabinet is considering a suspension of quotations of the franc in order to prevent speculation. It has also unanimously declared its intention of energetically defending the franc and the financial situation generally.

An earlier message had stated that there was great anxiety over economic and political developments. The Cabinet meeting at which M. Fournier, Governor of the Bank of France, was present, was concerned with

the grave position of the franc. Doubt was felt of the ability of the Exchange Fund to hold the spot franc at its present level.

Rumours were current of the possibility that M. Bonnet, the Finance Minister, might resign, and even that M. Sarraut might become Prime Minister.

After the Cabinet meeting, M. Bonnet declared that the Government were unanimous in rejecting exchange control, and regarded a balanced budget as more than ever indispensable.

A later message indicates that the Popular Front Government has been replaced by the Radicals, who has captured 18 out of 20 seats, supported by the Socialists with M. Chautemps as the Premier.

Recognition for Insurgents

Austria and Hungary have decided to recognize General Franco's Spanish insurgent Government as the lawful Government of Spain, according to a joint declaration issued by Italy, Austria and Hungary at Budapest after the conference of these Powers.

The declaration says the Austrian and Hungarian representatives expressed sympathy with Italo-German collaboration, which they considered a new and important guarantee of peace.

Austria and Hungary reaffirm their opposition to Communism and greet the Italo-German Anti-Comintern Pact with sympathy and confirm their decision to fight Communist propaganda in their respective countries with all their power.

Austria and Hungary, noting the grave and just reasons for Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations, declare that the League cannot and should not assume the character of an ideological grouping. In this eventuality Austria and Hungary reserve the right to subject their relations with the League to further examination.

Spanish Desertions

In order to prevent desertions from the rebel army a detachment of cavalry, composed of 25 mounted men, has been placed on the neutral ground between Spanish and British territory.

This move is a sequel to the increasing desertions of troops of carabins from the rebel ranks. The coastal guards have also been reinforced at Tazifa, Algceiras, and La Lonsa, where many machine-guns have been installed.

Japan Controls the Yangtze

All British and other neutral shipping wishing to navigate the Yangtze must seek "the understanding" of the Japanese Navy before attempting to pass the channel forced in the Chinese defence booms, according to a Japanese Embassy spokesman at Shanghai.

He indicated that free navigation could not be permitted, as that would impede Japanese military operations.

He added that this was made clear in a Note sent by the Japanese Consul-General to the Senior Consul. The Note declared that the Japanese

Navy is always ready to give sympathetic consideration to navigation by foreign vessels as far as permissible from the military point of view and is willing to offer facilities by supplying convoys.

The Note expressed the earnest desire that foreign vessels would "scrupulously refrain from attempting to navigate the channel in such a way as to invite a misunderstanding with the Japanese Navy."

The Japanese statement is interpreted as a claim to open and close the Yangtse at will. British shippers vigorously dispute the claim. Hitherto British ships were not allowed to ply between Shanghai and Wuhu. No supplies from the river ports are now being handled in Shanghai, the last unloading having occurred at the end of December. This greatly increases Shanghai's economic plight, by cutting off the last trickle of exports.



News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Next Science Congress to meet at Lahore

Prof. J. C. Ghosh, head of the Department of Chemistry, of Dacca University, has been appointed General President of the Indian Science Congress. The next session of the Congress will be held from January 2, 1939 to January 9, 1939 at Lahore at the invitation of the Punjab University. The University of Madras also invited the Congress to meet there next year but the General Committee of the Science Congress hopes that the Congress will meet at Madras in 1940. Mr. W. D. West of the Geological Survey of India has been reappointed General Secretary of the Congress.

Shillong Schools

With regard to the provision of new high schools proposed at a recent conference, the Bengalee residents of Shillong, at a meeting, have expressed the opinion that owing to the rapidly increasing Bengalee population in Shillong, two full-fledged high schools for Bengali boys are necessary, and that the Director of Public Instruction should be required to help in the starting of a fully-equipped, aided high school for Bengali boys in a centrally situated position as soon as possible in conversion of the present aided high school at Jail Road.

The Assamese residents, at a meeting, decided to accept the proposals made by the Director of Public Instruction, subject to the conditions that the high school should be called the Reid High School, that the teaching should be thoroughly bilingual, that Assamese literature should be taught through Assamese teachers, that in the lower four classes Assamese should as far as possible be taught by Assamese teachers, and that either the head master or the assistant head master should be an Assamese in order to supervise the study of Assamese literature.

Assam Govt. to grant Scholarships

It is understood that three scholarships have been granted by the Government of Assam in the Industries Department for higher studies to three former students of the Government Weaving Institute at Gauhati.

Mr. Khargeswar Sharma, the Proprietor of Assam Weaving Factory, a former pupil of the Institute, has been granted a scholarship of Rs. 30 per month tenable at Madras for higher study in silk course, while the same amount of scholarships have been granted to Mr. Samir Uddin Ahmed and Mr. Sulaiman for higher studies at Calcutta.

Orissa Colleges

Mr. Sreechidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of Patna University, discussed with Mr. Biswanath Das, Premier of Orissa, the question of jurisdiction of Patna University over the colleges of South Orissa.

Mr. Das is understood to have stated that there was no difficulty regarding South Orissa colleges remaining under the jurisdiction of the Andhra until Orissa had made arrangements for a university of her own.

Towards learning of Bengali

To facilitate the learning of Bengali by the domiciled Bengalee students in U. P. and also to make Bengali the medium of instruction for Bengalee boys a gift of property worth about Rs. 1 lakh has been made by Mr. V. N. Vidyanta to the boys of the Anglo-Bengali school, Lucknow. The property will be handed over to a Trust the personnel of which will be announced later. According to the donor's wish the name of the Institution will be changed to Vidyanta Anglo-Bengali Hindu School.

Adult Education Association of Bengal

A non-official Adult Education Association has been organised through the efforts of Mr. B. C. Mukherji of the Baptist Mission. The provisional Executive Committee includes several well-known men interested in the spread of education with four secretaries, namely, Mr. B. C. Mukherji, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Prof. Brajendranath Banerjee and Mr. Anathnath Bose of the Calcutta University with Dr. Tagore as President.

The work undertaken by the Association will be complementary to the scheme for an advanced course of instruction for adults who are partly educated which has been inaugurated by the authorities of the Vivabharati.

Interest in the adult education scheme has been considerably stimulated by the papers read in the adult education section of the All India Educational Conference recently held in Calcutta.

Anglo-Indian Education in Bengal

At a meeting of the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal, in Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, the Board, after considering the budget estimates for Anglo-Indian and European Education for 1938-39, and the schedule of schemes which had been administratively approved but which had not been financed, made recommendations with regard to their inclusion in the budget.

The Board, says a Press note, also recommended that increased provision be made in future for the award of stipends to poor pupils in secondary and primary schools and that the cut in teaching staff grants be fully and permanently restored.

The opinion was expressed that the time was ripe for a review of school courses and examinations in relation to the present needs of the Anglo-Indian community, and the Board decided to form a committee composed of members, technical experts, and headmasters and headmistresses of higher grade schools to undertake such a review and to submit its conclusions in the Board.

The Board requested the Teachers Registration Committee to consider the recommendations of the Association of Teachers in European Schools regarding the employment of teachers and to submit their observations to the Board.

Sciences Institute

The report for 1937 of the National Institute of Sciences of India states that the total number of Fellows on the roll at the end of the year was 151 ordinary and 13 honorary Fellows. The need for more accommodation for the offices of the Institute was continued to be felt particularly in the matter of storage-room for the stock of the Institute's publications which are rapidly accumulating and accommodation for the growing library of the Institute and a reading room for Fellows. The Council is considering the question of approaching the Government of India for accommodation in one of their buildings. Three hundred and seventy books and parts of periodicals were added to the library. The Royal Botanical Gardens, Edinburgh, who were placed on the exchange list, sent a complete set of their publications for the last twelve years.

The Council appointed Dr. C. S. Fox, Mr. E. R. Geo, Mr. D. N. Wadia and Prof. B. Sahni as its delegates to the 7th International Geological Congress held at Moscow in July.

At the annual general meeting of the Institute held at Calcutta the following were elected office-bearers and members of Council for 1938:—

President—Professor M. N. Saha; Vice-presidents—Professor S. S. Bhatnagar and Col. H. N. Chopra; Treasurer—Dr. B. S. Guha; Foreign Secretary—Professor B. Sahni; Secretaries—Professor S. P. Agharkar and Dr. A. M. Heron; Members—Mr. T. B. Bhaskara Shastri, Dr. G. B. Bose, Mr. H. G. Champion, Professor J. C. Ghosh, Dr. F. H. Gravely, Rhan Bah dur M. Afzal Husain, Professor K. S. Krishna, Dr. B. B. Lal, Professor S. K. Mitra, Professor J. N. Mukherjee, Dr. C. W. B. Naran, Sir Arthur Oliver, Col. B. Prasad, Professor N. R. Sen, Lt. Col. S. S. Sokhey, Professor V. Subrahmanyam, Col. J. Taylor and Rao Bahadur B. Venkatesachar.

German Geographer

Dr. Wilhelm Filchner, who arrived in India in September last after extensive scientific work in Turkistan, told a correspondent that he had carried out his plans and gleaned the fullest knowledge of magnetic conditions in Central Asia. He intended to proceed to India in autumn to continue his observations in Northern India.

Burma Candidates' Eligibility for Indian Examinations

British subjects domiciled in Burma will be eligible to sit for competitive examinations held in India up to April 1, 1939, says a Press communiqué, which runs as follows:—

"Before the separation of Burma from India, the rules for admission to competitive examinations held for certain Central services provided that the candidates must be British subjects of Indian domicile. Under this provision, British subjects domiciled in Burma were eligible.

"Since the separation of Burma from India, persons domiciled in Burma are no longer persons of Indian domicile, and the Government of India have decided that justification no longer exists for allowing persons domiciled in Burma to sit for these examinations.

"Since, however, some persons domiciled in Burma may have undergone training for these examinations in the expectation of being admitted to them, British subjects of European or Indian descent, domiciled in Burma, will be eligible to sit for competitive examinations held in India for admission to the undermentioned services up to April 1930 after which date only persons of Indian domicile will be eligible to appear.

"The services affected by this decision are as follows:—Indian Audit and Accounts Service, Imperial Customs Service, Indian Railway Accounts Service, Military Accounts Central Engineering Service (Class 1), Postal Superintendents (Class 2), Superior Telegraph Engineer and Wireless Branches of the Indian Posts and Telegraph Department, Indian Railway Service of Engineers Transportation, Traffic and Commercial departments of the Superior revenue establishment of State Railways, Survey of India (Class 2), special class apprentices for appointment to Mechanical Engineering and Transportation (Power) departments of the Superior revenue establishment of State Railways, and Ordnance and Clothing factories, India and the Ministerial service of the Government of India Secretariat and its attached offices (1 and 2 divisions and typist and routine grades)."



Miscellany

THE CRISIS IN SOCIOLOGY

The present crisis in sociology may be analyzed in a realistic manner as follows. It may be said that if you study the origins of society, family, group, caste, etc., you become an historian of primitive conditions and later developments in institutions. You will perhaps be described as an anthropologist.

Should you study the ends, objects, "values," and goal of diverse social institutions, domestic, economic, religious, political, etc., whether individually or in relation to one another you will be functioning as a researcher into the destiny of man. People will call you a philosopher, perhaps a social philosopher or a student of psychology, ethics and metaphysics.

In case you take interest in the social problems of today with reference to their usefulness for tomorrow and try to devise plans and methods for action, reform, reconstruction in the fields of marriage, poverty, crime, health, education and other institutions you become virtually an economist or rather a lawyer and a politician. May be, you will be labelled as a student of applied politics or economic statesmanship.

The problem in contemporary social science is to discover a province in which sociology does not have to compete or get mixed up and become virtually identical with (1) culture history or cultural anthropology, (2) philosophy, ethics, metaphysics or psychology, and (3) economics, law and politics.

The kind of new sociology that is being sought, is called by Leopold van Wiese of Cologne, the leading exponent, as *die Lehre von den sozialen Beziehungen und den sozialen Gebilden*, i.e. the science of social relations or processes (competition, boycott, exploitation, etc.) and social "forms" (such as the group, mass, state, people, nation, class, etc.). It is sometimes shortly named the *Beziehungslehre* or science of relationships. And the special feature of this science of relationships consists in the fact that it deals not with historical or time-conditioned categories but with the categories such as are "above" or indifferent to time (*überzeitlich*) and somewhat eternal (*quasi-ewig*). These categories relate to such relations, or processes of "to" and "away" from (*Zu- und Auseinander*) as prevailed, are prevailing and will prevail as long as there are men.

The manner in which the topics of population are generally discussed by students of biology, eugenics, medicine, public health, anthropology, statistics, economics and law (cf. the papers in the different volumes of the *Proceedings of the International Congress of Population*, Rome, 1931 or in *Bevölkerungsfragen*, Munich, 1936, edited by Harmaen and Lohse as the report of the same congress held at Berlin in 1935) can hardly have a place in sociology, as defined in this the latest manner. This is a most perplexing and paradoxical situation, namely, that population can have no sociology or that sociology can have nothing to do with population as such.

But there is a safety valve even in the crisis created by the new concept in sociology's functions. Population is the complex that engenders legion of *soziale Beziehungen* and *soziale Gebilde*. Population movements, whether natural, i.e., births, deaths, and growths, or artificial, e.g., emigra-

tion, immigration, etc., are social relations or social processes. Urbanization and colonization can therefore have a place in the study of *soziale Beziehungen*. Villages, cities, states, etc., can likewise be studied in the science of *soziale Gebilde*. And so on. Population's place in sociology can thus be assured even under the most formal interpretations.

As against von Wiese's much too analytical position in regard to sociology's functions there is the attitude of Spann (Vienna) which goes back to Fichte, whose concept of man in *Die Grundlage des Naturrechts* (1796) is as follows: *Sollen überhaupt Menschen sein, so müssen mehrere sein* (In order that there may at all be men there must be several men). The concept of man is not at all the concept of a solitary individual but of a *Gattung* (genus, species or class).¹

Never, according to Spann² in *Vorrang und Gestaltwandel in der Ausgliederungsgeschichte der Gesellschaft*, can a whole be constructed out of its parts, neither a house out of bricks and stones nor a society out of men,—unless the *geistige Ganze* (spiritual whole) is already present as an immaterial substance. Spann, is, therefore, a believer in the study of the synthetic and whole view of the society as contrasted with the purely analytical and formal study.

An opposition to the von Wiese school comes from the Russian-American sociologist Sorokin of Harvard also, who is careful enough, however to mark sociology's position out from that of other social sciences. Sociology is described by him³ as being not an encyclopaedia of all social sciences or "a synthetic hodgepodge," interested perhaps in vague philosophy. It is a specialized science addressing itself to "those traits which are common to all social phenomena."⁴

Further, there are the "special" sociologies which deal with the "interstitial" problems. Among interstitial phenomena may be mentioned the relations between heredity and genius, race and invention, geography and economic activity, climate and civilization, religion and economic organization, population and progress, economic conditions and originality, business cycles and vital processes and so on and so forth. In such a liberal interpretation of sociology no special pleading is evidently required in behalf of the sociology of population.

A somewhat clear statement which comprises von Wiese's position but goes beyond it is furnished by Walther⁵ of Hamburg, in whose judgment sociology is a *vier-stufige* or four-storied structure. It ought to deal with (1) the social attitudes (*soziale Haltungen*) of the individual, (2) the social relations and processes, *i.e.*, those bearing on the interaction of individuals among themselves, (3) the "groups," *i.e.*, collective systems of persons (*Personenzusammenhänge*) and (4) other *Zusammenhänge* (collective systems), *e.g.*, of (a) psychological dispositions (for instance, public opinion, national mind), (b) of modes of living (custom, mores, folkways), (c) of activities (plays, rites), (d) of achievements (press, economic life), (e) of organizations (political and religious institutions), (f) of culture

¹ *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. III, p. 30, in W. Anreus: "Das Werk Othmar Spann's" in *Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Archiv* (Jena), April, 1928. Spann: *Gesellschaftslehre* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 47.

² W. Anreus: "Das Werk Spann's" in *Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Archiv* (Jena), April, 1928.

³ "Sociology as a Science" (*Social Forces*, October, 1931). See also Sorokin and Zimmerman: *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), pp. 4-6.

⁴ "Gesellschaftliche Gruppen nach Art und Grad der Verbundenheit" (*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* Tübingen, December, 1932).

(philosophy, art), (g) of norms and ideals (ethics, law) and (h) material transactions as instruments of social life (city, library, railway).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ECONOMICS OF THE SUKKUR BARRAGE

The essential features of the scheme are a large barrage across the river Indus at Sukkur, about three miles down-stream of the Lansdowne Bridge, with 7 canals—5 on the right and 2 on the left bank taking off from it and watering crops in all but two districts of the Province. In addition, there are the Flood Protection Bund scheme intended, as its name suggests to protect the barrage area on the right bank from Khirtar hill torrents and the Manchar Drainage scheme designed to draw flood water from this area and so to prevent waterlogging.

The barrage itself is about five times the length of London Bridge. Designed on simple yet tasteful lines and built for the most part of creamy white limestone with arches of cement concrete, it lies in aesthetic dignity across the river and forms a conspicuous landmark for miles around. Its 85 spans, each 60 feet wide, carry two bridges and permit a maximum of 1,500,000 cubic feet of water a second, 100 times the volume of the Thames at London Bridge, to pass through. From the higher of the bridges the sluice gates are operated ordinarily by electricity, though they can be worked by hand also—while the lower bridge takes traffic across the river. The entire structure is lit by electricity at night.

One of the canals on the right bank, the Rice Canal, runs for 8 months in the Kharif season only and irrigates rice cultivation while two of those on the left bank are feeders for the canals in the Khairpur State, the functioning of which was interfered with by the barrage system. A third supplies the Eastern Nara river, which was almost entirely dependent on inundation from the Indus when the river was comparatively high: some 217 miles of this river have now been canalised.

Words cannot convey an adequate idea of the immensity of this project. With its 6,547 miles of channel and 47,773 miles of watercourses capable of drawing 46,000 cubic feet of water a second from the river, it is by far the largest canal system in India—possibly in the world. Its largest canal is the broadest ever excavated and exceeds the Panama Canal in width at bed level.

The scheme commands a gross area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, roughly equivalent to a quarter of England and more than the entire irrigated area in Japan. About $6\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of this area or as much as is actually irrigated in Egypt, are cultivable; and it is estimated that about $5\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, or an area about the size of Wales, will actually be irrigated annually when the project has been fully developed.

The scheme has cost slightly under Rs. 20 crores to build, special tools and plants alone being responsible for about Rs. 10.5 crores, and the barrage and head works of the canals for another Rs. 4.04 crores. It is expected to yield a return of 8.73 per cent. ten years after completion, i.e., in 1942-43 and 7.30 per cent. 10 years later. It should not be forgotten, however, that its benefits are not to be measured by revenue alone.

Profit, indeed, was not the object with which the scheme was undertaken;—the main idea was to replace the old defective and precarious

system of irrigation by one more modern, efficient and reliable. Formerly, much of the area now served by the barrage canals used to be irrigated by inundation channels, which could only function when the level of water in the river from which they drew their supply rose sufficiently high to flow into them and the water level was very often not high enough to give flow supply. The irrigation was therefore uncertain and hardship not uncommon.

To-day this area presents an altogether different picture. An adequate supply of water is assured at all times and can be drawn upon whenever required. Stark deserts have now been converted into smiling fields dotted over with villages, peopled by a busy, contented peasantry. When the scheme is in full operation, the total area under cultivation will be nearly trebled, that under wheat, the principal crop, being increased from about half a million to about 2 million acres and those under the two other important crops, cotton and rice, from 300,000 to 622,000 and from 300,000 to 682,000 acres respectively. The area under cotton may even reach a million acres.

The improvement is not confined to acreage alone, for it is now possible to grow crops of better quality and greater yield. Indeed, better strains of wheat and cotton have already been introduced. All this means a higher income and a happier life for the cultivator.—A Report from Delhi.

BENGY KUMAR SARKAR

THE REMAKING OF SIND—AN ACHIEVEMENT OF ENGINEERS

No story of this marvellous transformation can be complete without some details about the stupendous nature of this undertaking.

Excluding Government waste land, for which other land was given in exchange, no less than 16,000 acres were acquired for the project.

The labour force alone employed on the works varied from 30,000 to 50,000 during the winter and once topped even the colossal total of 60,000 skilled and unskilled labourers. To accommodate a part of this huge population working at Sukkur, two townships had to be built, one on each bank of the river in the vicinity of Sukkur, equipped with offices, workshops, stores, locomotive sheds, oil tanks, roads, water-supply arrangements, electric lights, medical and sanitary facilities.

To transport material and machinery to the headworks some 42 miles of broad gauge and 24 miles of narrow gauge railway track were laid and 27 locomotives and 1,760 wagons of all kinds were used in the work of construction. Temporary wharves had to be built on either bank of the river for the loading of material used in the centre of the river. Special plant of various sorts had to be employed and much of it, including 2 dredgers, 2 paddle tugs and several mechanical excavators had to be obtained from England.

Nearly 752 crores of cubic feet of earthwork was done, 46 mechanical excavators supplemented by hand labour being employed for the purpose. In one area in Beluchistan on the Khirtar branch canal the soil was so hard that it had to be blasted before the mechanical excavators could work on it. Arrangements had also to be made for the quarrying of stone. Suitable quarries were fortunately found at Sukkur, Rohri and Kohistan, not far from the site of the headworks which produced 434·5 lakhs of cubic feet of stone of all kinds.

At the height of construction, 62 kilns were in operation producing about 7,500 cubic feet of lime a day. Over 23,000 tons of steel piling were driven for both permanent and temporary purposes by 17 sets of pile-driving machinery. Most of the machinery was electrically operated and the electric power plant specially installed for the purpose was capable of developing 2,350 kilowatts at 6,600 volts.

No less than 1,889 bridges, regulators, and siphons had to be built as part of the scheme. It will be new to many that each gate of the barrage weighs as much as 50 tons, and special machines had to be employed to place them in position. No wonder the workshops in all did work worth nearly Rs. 16 lakhs.

To add to the difficulties of construction, there was an inherently and notoriously inhospitable climate to be contended with. The average rain-fall in Sind varies from 3 inches in the North to 9 inches in the South. This means exceptional dryness throughout the year and extreme discomfort during the long summer when the temperature frequently rises about 120 degrees in the shade and often as high as 160 degrees in the sun.

Dust storm occurs constantly between March and August and high wind blows for the first three months of the hot weather. But despite these very trying conditions, work proceeded night and day throughout the nine years of construction.

The operations covered very vast area, some 12,000 square miles, much of which is unmitigated desert, notorious for its inaccessibility and lack of water supply. Camel was the only means of transport for a time, and water suitable for raising steam for the mechanical excavators was difficult to obtain. Ultimately water had to be pumped from the river or of its channels to remote places, at times 4 to 6 miles away.

Such was the nature of the country in some regions that special tracks had to be laid across the desert to enable inspecting officers to visit the site of the operations. In some cases too the tracks from the operator's camps to the machines themselves had to be marked by small mounds of earth on either side to enable the machines to be located at night.

Further, at the site of the barrage, the river occupied the entire width of its bed. It could not therefore be diverted for the purpose of excavating and constructing foundations, and coffer-dams had to be built. Owing to the annual floods, no work was possible in the river from mid-May to Mid-September, so that these coffer dams had to be erected and dismantled every year. This was a troublesome arrangement, never free from the menace of floods and it occasionally broke down. But eventually the difficulties were overcome, and to-day Sind has one of the finest irrigation works in the world.

The idea of having an improved irrigation work for Sind originated soon after British occupation in 1843. Various schemes were prepared from time to time, but they did not materialize till the early years of the present century, when certain projects of a restricted type were drawn up, the ultimate object of all being the substitution of perennial for inundation canals. Meanwhile in the inundation season of 1918, the river remained abnormally low, the old canals getting little or no water; there was very little cultivation and the output fell very low. For the first time in its history Sind had to import supplies of grain from other provinces, and that too at a time of general shortage. Suffering was widespread and serious and there was considerable local demand for the project to be started. Conditions threatened to be as bad again in 1920. The

development of irrigation in the Punjab also adversely affected the Sind Canals. The preparation of the project was accordingly expedited and final approval was accorded to it in 1923. Preliminary work began in July of that year, actual construction in 1925-26, and irrigation from the Canal started in May, 1932. The barrage area obtained a good Kharif crop that year and the system has since been functioning quite satisfactorily.—A Report from Delhi.

BENOV KUMAR SARKAR

CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLITICS

Dr. Karel Krofta, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave in the Foreign Committees of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate one of his periodical surveys of the international situation and of Czechoslovakia's external policy. After a tribute to the memory of President-Liberator Masaryk, the Foreign Minister dealt with the general situation, and in discussing the Spanish question referred to the patient effort of France and England to preserve European peace, and once again emphasized Czechoslovakia's firm adherence to the policy of non-intervention. In connection with events in the Far East Dr. Krofta emphasized their reaction on European and world politics, and expressed his admiration of the emphatic words of President Roosevelt in condemning international lawlessness. The United States, he said, had strengthened the international solidarity of the democratic elements of the world by the indirect support he had given to the League of Nations, and quoting the speeches of Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, Dr. Krofta said that Czechoslovakia fully agreed with the views of the American Government and people, and that she remained faithful to the democratic ideals to which the American nation adhered. Turning to Central Europe the Foreign Minister emphasized the unity and solidarity of the Little Entente and the progress that alliance had continued to make both in the political and economic sphere. He had a specially sympathetic reference to the talks which had taken place with M. Kanya, the Hungarian Premier, and with the Hungarian Minister in Bucharest in the matter of better understanding between Hungary and the Little Entente, and especially Czechoslovakia. With Austria, he said, relations maintained their traditional character of friendliness, and personal contacts between leading statesmen on both sides had been a regular feature for many years past. Close friendship continued to be a feature of the relations with France and English interest in Czechoslovakia was growing. Dr. Krofta paid a tribute to the impartiality shown by the British press on the occasion of the recent press campaigns launched from certain quarters against the Republic. Relations with Soviet Russia were based on the desire of both countries for peace; the profound difference between the political conceptions of the two countries was no obstacle to good relations as each acted on the principle of non-interference in the other's internal affairs. As to Italy, Czechoslovakia recognized that Power's interests in Central Europe and was ready to co-operate with her in efforts towards appeasement throughout the Danubian area. Speaking of Germany Dr. Krofta repudiated the suggestions that Czechoslovakia was anti-German, and regretted the repeated outbursts of the German press against Czechoslovakia. He recognized the interest Germany had in the German minority in Czechoslovakia, but could not accept outside influence or threats in that connection.

The minorities in Czechoslovakia were treated with complete justice. Dr. Krofta welcomed the settlement of ecclesiastical and property question between the Republic and the Vatican. In summing up he said: "The main condition of success for foreign policy at a time like the present is to be found in the closing of our ranks—in unity at home. If we have this unity—and we have it—we need not fear to-morrow." *The Central European Observer* (Prague).

BENCY KUMAR SARKAR

THE PHOSPHATES OF MOROCCO

"The iron, manganese, nickel, lead, zinc, tin, antimony, cobalt and graphite prospected represent considerable wealth, but it is perhaps the phosphate market which best reveals both the effort sustained and the importance of the Moroccan subsoil," says M. Ramadier of the Department of Public Works (Paris) in a report on his travels in Morocco.

In 1935 the European market, which is the chief consumer of phosphates had declined by as much as 279,500 tons, as compared with the preceding year, but in 1936 the consumption has again increased by 440,000 tons, thus showing an advance of 8%, as compared with the figures for 1934, the average world consumption having likewise increased by 8%.

France for a long time took the first place among the consumers; her record consumption was in 1929, but there was a decline, as from 1930, followed in 1936 by a slight advance, showing an increase of over 180,000 tons; the total consumption now being 937,000 tons.

Germany, in spite of her monetary crisis, is making a big effort to get the maximum output for land, for which purpose she has considerably increased her consumption of phosphates which has risen by 300,000 tons as 1935 to 1936.

By reason of the effort sustained by Italy, her consumption of phosphates, while lower than that of France, is almost equal to her consumption in 1930, having advanced by 140,000 tons from 1935 to 1936.

With few exceptions (e.g. Spain and Portugal), all European countries have increased their consumption, more particularly Belgium, Holland, Poland and Russia.

So far as production is concerned, it follows from a recent study by M. A. Diesnis that Northern Africa, which in 1935 had supplied 342,000 tons less than in 1934, shows a recovery of 209,666 tons in 1936, distributed as follows:

Algeria: an advance of 51,812 tons, over a total of 518,806 tons in 1935;

Tunis: an advance of 157,774 tons, over a total of 1,481,880 tons in 1935;

Morocco: a decline of 28,000 tons is recorded as from a total of 1,175,794 tons in 1935.

The *Office Cherifien des Phosphates* issues an Annual Report, the object of which is not only to make known the results of its exploitation, but also to show the progress marked by the phosphate industry during the financial year under review. Thus in the latest report we find a number of data

relating to the rest of the producer countries. It was seen above that since the depression, the consumption of phosphates has fallen off in several countries, and that the output of 1929 may be considered as the record. That year, the total sales of phosphates from the Moroccan Protectorate amounted to 1,608,000 tons—a figure exceeding that of 1928 by just one fifth, and that of 1927 by about one quarter.

The phosphates of Morocco—a comparatively recent discovery—represent one of the foremost sources of wealth of the Protectorate. The *Office Ocherifien des Phosphates* is a State-controlled body entrusted with the prospecting, development and marketing of the phosphates of Morocco. The Office, which has a civil status, is run by a General Manager under the supervision of a Board of Management, which deals with the technical and financial programme, with matters relating to the development and working of the deposits, and with all questions referred to it by the General Manager. It comprises, among others, representatives of the Ocherifian Government, and representatives of Agriculture, Industry and Trade.

The *Office des Phosphates* is expected to render full account to the Government of its management and this system has, on the whole, yielded good results. Care has been taken to ensure that its operations should be advantageous for all interested parties. The great importance of the phosphate deposits is evident from a glance at the economic map of Morocco. They are more particularly abundant in the ceconian, turonian, semonian and oocene strata between the plain of the Talla and the Western part of the Setta or Melgou uplands. The latter plateau contains enormous quantities of phosphates in horizontal layers lying one above the other. The deposits comprised between the Qued Zem-er-Boussad and El Boroudj, in the vast oocene basin, 2,000 kilometres square, along with banks of the Oumer Rebia have been more particularly prospected. These are but a few examples but these will afford some idea of the wealth of the Moroccan phosphate deposits.

BENGOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Organic Chemistry, a supplementary Text book and Revision course :
By A. J. Mee, M.A., B.Sc., Publishers, J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Price
4s. 6d.

The book justifies its supplementary title. It is an 'aide memoire' for students preparing for examinations and approximately covers the ground indicated in the syllabus of studies in organic chemistry for B.Sc. pass students. Of course it cannot take the place of text books, but it serves well the purpose for which it is intended. Students will find it useful.

J. N. M.

Illusion and Reality : By Christopher Caudwell (Macmillan, 18s.). **The Poetry of the Invisible :** By Syed Mehdi Imam (George Allen and Unwin).

It is a curious phenomenon that men often agree in their judgments about works of art and yet differ violently in the reasons which they advance in defence of their verdicts. Men have, with rare exceptions, found grace and dignity in what is traditionally known as great art and yet when they are asked to explain their preferences, it is almost a miracle if any two can agree. In a word, while the taste for beauty seems, on the whole, uniform or at any rate homogeneous, the theories of beauty which we formulate are as diverse as imagination can make them.

Nowhere is this so true as in the case of literature and particularly in that of poetry. For one thing, it is arguable that painting and sculpture are amenable to certain tests which are relatively impersonal and objective while the forms of literature have no existence at all outside the medium of human personality. It is not only from the context of the poet's experience that words in poetry imbibe their significance, the texture of the experience of the reader is equally important. Otherwise how could one explain the possibility of two books so diverse and so flagrantly contradictory to one another as the ones we have under review?

In a way, this really supports Mr. Caudwell's thesis. He asserts categorically that poetry is the product of society as the pearl is the product of the oyster. The criticism of art is therefore essentially a sociological function, and in our judgments about art, "values are ranged and integrated in a perspective or world view which is a most general view of art from outside." This perspective is largely determined by the economic and political structure of society at any stage and the knowledge in the physical and social sciences that has been achieved. A sound sociology, which enables the art critic to employ criteria from all these other fields is therefore essential in understanding the true meaning and function of art. For Mr. Caudwell, "there is only one sound sociology which lays bare

the general active relation of the ideological products of society with each other and with concrete living—historical materialism. Historical materialism is therefore the basis of this study."

If we leave out the metaphysical implications of historical materialism which seem unintelligible to all except the initiate, a general statement like this is easy to make and will almost certainly contain an element of truth; there can be no large generalisation into which a modicum of truth does not enter. The difficulty arises when the general statement is sought to be applied to particular instances and it is Mr. Caudwell's great achievement that he has applied his general principles of criticism to the development of English poetry with a skill which makes them, at the least, plausible. Individualism, he argues, is essentially a function of modern economic organisation of society, and hence, he points out, it is with the Eli-abethan age in England that a really individual note enters into literature. The temper of the mod-ern in which each man tends to regard himself as the only reasonable excuse for the existence of the universe has its counterpart in the lyric exaltation which seeks to find the meaning of life and creation in terms of a single human personality and was perhaps unknown to the ancients. It is not without significance that this temper first emerges at a time when the old feudal forms of life in Europe were breaking up and giving rise to the new type of economic society to which we are accustomed to this day. Similarly, Mr. Caudwell argues, the excesses of individualism, symbolism, surrealism and other isms in the history of recent literature with utter loss of control of all social relationships are directly related to the anarchy of individualism to which the growth of unhampered capitalism has led.

Mr. Caudwell's general survey is illuminating and provocative, and even if we cannot agree with many of the particular judgments he makes, there is no denying the sincerity and acuteness with which he has urged his thesis. His death in the prime of youth, he was only 28 at the time of death, is all the more to be regretted, for it was neither chance nor fell disease that cut him off but the brutalities of war which men inflict on one another. He died fighting for the government of Spain against the forces of Franco.

Mr. Imam's thesis is hardly as clear though perhaps equally as provocative as Mr. Caudwell's. To Mr. Caudwell, poetry is a function of the material organisation of society as focussed in individual minds of acute sensitiveness; to Mr. Imam, it is a foretaste and forecast of the disposition of spiritual forces which mystics intuit in their trance. The difficulties of logical interpretation of that which can only be intuitively grasped are proverbial and Mr. Imam has not succeeded in explaining what is from its nature obscure. If he wants to prove that there are passages in the English poets which correspond to the different visions of mystics, spiritualists and theosophists, this he has certainly done, but that is hardly his aim. If on the other hand, he wants to show that the history of English poetry is a record of development in the mystic path, his thesis is provocative but not out very convincing. As a curious study in the English poets, bringing out elements which often pass unnoticed, the book will be of interest to scholars, but as an attempt to interpret English poetry, in which "at each step, the advance is deeper into the invisible," it will be difficult to convince an unprejudiced reader that Byron entered more deeply into the spiritual sphere than Shelley or Keats, or that "Swinnburne bears us beyond the cycles into the plane of God."

H. K.

Armenians in India: By Mesrobian J. Seth—Published by the Author, pp. 629, price Rs. 10.

This important contribution to the history of India is the result of forty-five years' very patient research. The remarkable enthusiasm of the author is the most characteristic feature of his production. It is as complete a work on the Armenians as possible and undoubtedly it will serve a very useful purpose as a book of reference. The very interesting paper on 'Hindoo in Armenia,' read at the ninth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission and incorporated in this work, is an unknown chapter in the story of Greater India.

In view of the importance of his work, the author might have saved the students of Indian history the trouble of reading all his accumulations including many of the obscure epitaphs from the deserted cemeteries and churchyards. Mirza Zul-Qarnain, Khojah Israel Sahad, Khojah Petrus, Gorgin Khan, Shah Nazar Khan, Sarmad, were all very important figures in Indian history and much of what has been written about them is very valuable. But for the method which he has followed, this unwieldy book could have been reduced to half its size without in any way affecting its quality. To give us an idea of Zul-Qarnain, an important grandee in the Mughal Court, the author summarises the accounts of Father H. Hosten, Thomas Khojahmal and the Jesuits in three successive chapters, involving a repetition of the same story in the major portion. In the case of Gorgin Khan, we find extracts from original consultations, quotations from Marshman, translations from Bakhimohandra's Chandrasakhar as also from the Persian works *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar*, *Seir-ul-Mutakkarin* and extracts from Gould's Memoirs, all this naturally necessitating much repetition. A connected critical account would have been more appreciated.

N. K. SINHA

Ourselves

[I. The late Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee.—II. The late Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra.—III. Portrait of Sri Hason Suktasundg.—IV. Dr. Charles Myers.—V. Our Visitors from Austria.—VI. Dr. L. Dudley Stamp.—VII. Sir Maxmathanath Mukerji.—VIII. Dr. E. L. Maudsill.—IX. Ordinary Fellows.—X. Presentation of University Publications.—XI. American Academy of Political and Social Science.—XII. The Poems of the late Mr. M. Ghosh.—XIII. Dr. F. W. Thomas.—XIV. Professor Fisher's Lectures.—XV. Adhar Chandra Lecturer in Science for 1933.—XVI. The Jagattarini Gold Medal.—XVII. Dr. Sural Kumar Mitra.—XVIII. Desendramath-Hemleta Gold Medal.—XIX. Dr. M. M. Bhattacharjee.—XX. All-Bengal Literary Conference.—XXI. Professor Denog Kumar Sarkar.]

I. THE LATE DR. SARATCHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

The death of Saratchandra Chatterjee, the popular novelist of Bengal, is being mourned by all lovers of Bengali literature. Saratchandra had been entertaining the Bengali public for more than twenty years with short stories and novels which will, for many years to come, continue to be cherished as an invaluable heritage. The novelist possessed knowledge of diverse subjects and his learning could be known not only from the general background of his stories for which is necessary an intimate knowledge of the human mind in the individual and in the race but also from his brochure on the status of women in society as well as from the spirited utterances on the general principles of literature which he made on some occasions. The University of Calcutta awarded him the Jagattarini Medal for 1928 and the University of Dacca honoured him with a doctorate. But plain Saratchandra, stripped of the medal and the doctorate, sounds sweeter to the ordinary man, and will go down to posterity as such. His short stories and novels have been justly included in the course of studies laid down by this University and generations of students will profit by them and admire them. His death has been sudden, but he is with the Immortals.

II. THE LATE DR. HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA.

More intimate was the connection of the University with Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, who for almost half a century was the champion of purity in the student world in Bengal. His love for

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The Late Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee.

Wordsworth, Carlyle and Emerson was the wonder of the age ; he had won distinction in his earlier days by his studies of these authors and confined his teaching mainly to them. His benevolence, honesty, and regard for truth were evident to everybody who had the good fortune to come in touch with him. The tradition which he had helped to create is still with us and the University has already recorded its sense of loss caused by his death.

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III. PORTRAIT OF SIR H. SUHRAWARDY.

A pleasant function took place at the Senate Hall on Saturday, the 23rd January, when Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-At-Law, M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, unveiled the portrait of Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, a former Vice-Chancellor.

The portrait was presented to the University by some of the friends and admirers of Sir Hassan.

Mr. Mookerjee in the course of his speech referred to the family of Sir Hassan which has made notable contribution to the progress of Bengal for the last thirty years.

A message of good wishes and sincere thanks was conveyed to Sir Hassan.

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IV. DR. CHARLES MYERS.

Dr. Charles S. Myers, C.B.E., M.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., Principal, National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London, delivered before a crowded house a course of four lectures in this University, on " Vocational Guidance " and " Industrial Psychology."

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-At-Law, M.L.A., our Vice-Chancellor, presided.

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V. OUR VISITOR FROM AUSTRIA.

Dr. Eugene Ehrmann-Ewart, who has come to India as a special delegate of the Austrian State Tourist Department, delivered an address on the " Economic and Cultural Structure of Austria " on

Wednesday, the 2nd February, 1938, at the Asutosh Hall, Asutosh Building.

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, presided.

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VI. DR. L. DUDLEY STAMP.

Dr. L. Dudley Stamp, D.Sc., Sir Ernest Cassel Reader in Economic Geography at the University of London, delivered a course of two Extension lectures on the 'Ideals of Modern Geography' before a crowded house, at the invitation of this University.

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VII. SIR MANMATHA NATH MUKERJI.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji, Kt., M.A., B.L., who has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for 1935, will deliver his lectures some time after June, this year.

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VIII. DR. K. L. MONDGILL.

Dr. K. L. Mondgill, M.A., D.Sc., F.I.C., Director of Research in the University of Travancore, who has been deputed to visit different institutes in India engaged in the investigation of problems connected with the applied sciences, for the purpose of establishing a Central Research Institute in Travancore, has been invited to visit this University for which necessary facilities have been offered.

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IX. ORDINARY FELLOWS.

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Mr. Pulin Behary Mallick, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University *vice* the Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Mallick, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., resigned and Col. P. S. Mills, C.I.B., I.M.S., M.B.B.S., D.F.M.Q.B., M.B.C.S., to be an Ordinary Fellow *vice* Major-General D. P. Goil resigned.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-law, M.L.A., has been re-elected an Ordinary Fellow of the University.

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X. PRESENTATION OF UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS.

The University has decided to present a complete set of all its legal publications to the Library of the Federal Court of India.

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XI. THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The Forty-second Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science will be held on the 1st and 2nd April, 1938, at Philadelphia. The University of Calcutta has forwarded its good wishes to the President on this happy occasion.

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XII. THE POEMS OF THE LATE MR. N. GHOSH.

Mrs. Mrinalini Dutt and Miss Latika Ghosh have made an offer to the University of the copyright of "Songs of Love and Death" by the late Mr. Manmohan Ghosh with the request that the work might be included as a text-book by the University and that out of the profits from its sale a medal or scholarship might be awarded to perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. Ghosh. The donors have also expressed their willingness to place at the disposal of the University, a large number of unpublished poems by the late Mr. Ghosh. The original mss. of the poems will also be placed at the disposal of the University provided it preserves them in its archives.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

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XIII. DR. F. W. THOMAS.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., M.A., PH.D., has been appointed a special Reader of the University to deliver a course of lectures on "Some Stages in the Literature of India and Greater India."

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XIV. PROFESSOR FISHER'S LECTURES.

Professor R. A. Fisher, D.Sc., F.R.S., Galton Professor of Mathematics in the University of London, who was appointed a Special University Reader, delivered a course of lectures on the "Theory of Statistical Estimation" from January 10 to 19.

The lectures were open to the public, who gathered in large numbers. The Vice-Chancellor presided.

XV. ADHARCHANDRA LECTURE IN SCIENCE FOR 1937.

Professor Birbal Sabani, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Botany, Lucknow University, has been appointed Adharchandra Lecturer in Science for the year 1937.

XVI. THE JAGATTARINI GOLD MEDAL.

Mr. Pramatha Nath Chaudhuri, the veteran Bengali writer, has been awarded the Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1937. The list of his important contributions in Bengali includes two volumes of poetry, several volumes of essays and many short stories.

The medal is provided out of a gift to this University by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for original contributions to Letters or Science, written in the Bengali Language.

XVII. DR. SUSIL KUMAR MITRA.

Dr. Susil Kumar Mitra, D.Sc., Ph.D., has been nominated by this University for the foreign Research Scholarship awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the London Exhibition of 1931.

XVIII. DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL.

On the result of the Health Examination of the candidates for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for 1937, it has been resolved to award a medal of full value to each of the following:—

- (1) Phanindra Nath Bandyopadhyay, M.A.
- (2) Sailendra Nath Chakrabarti, M.A.

XIX. DR. M. M. BHATTACHERJEE.

Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharjee, Lecturer in English in our University, who went to Europe in 1936 as Ghose Travelling Fellow of the year, has returned with a record of multifarious activities to his credit. For his work on some aspects of the influence of the Renaissance on Shakespeare, Dr. Bhattacharjee had to spend a large part of his time in the British Museum in London where he came in touch with Shakespearean scholars like Professor C. J. Sisson and Dr. F. S. Boas. At the suggestion of Prof. Sisson, Dr. Bhattacharjee visited Italy in order to study the traces of Italian life and thought of the sixteenth century. The libraries and picture-galleries of Rome, Bologna, Florence, Venice and Milan interested him greatly. In Rome he came in contact with Professor Mario Prax, the University Professor of English, and the well-known author of the most recent work on Machiavelli, and Gentile, the Philosopher, the Editor of the Italian Encyclopaedia. He discussed with them on the influence of Renaissance on English Literature. In Paris, Dr. Bhattacharjee met Professors Cazamian, Delattre, and Charnard, and also Professor Carre of the Sorbonne, who helped him with their suggestions. His work on Shakespeare has been finished and is now ready for the press.

Basic English interested Dr. Bhattacharjee, and he studied the system in London with the assistance of Mr. C. Ogden, its inventor, and some other members of the Orthological Institute. He revised a few books in Basic at the request of Mr. Ogden, and the latter, we are glad to note, has, at the suggestion of Dr. Bhattacharjee, presented our University with a complete set of publications on Basic, numbering about eighty volumes.

At the suggestion of our Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bhattacharjee familiarised himself with the methods of Teaching English to foreigners. The University College of London has instituted courses on the subject, which are attended by foreign students from all parts of Europe and sometimes from China, Japan, Turkey, etc. Dr. Bhattacharjee studied the methods followed there and also attended the Experimental Phonetics Laboratory of Mr. Stephen Jones. Pronunciation is important for a foreign speaker of English, yet his defects are seldom evident to himself. Hence at the advice of a specialist, Dr. Bhattacharjee had his own voice recorded.

XX. ALL-BENGAL LITERARY CONFERENCE.

The 21st session of the All-Bengal Literary Conference will be held at Krishnagar on 12th, 13th and 14th February in the historic hall of the Nadia-Baj-Nat-Mandir, the use of which has been offered by the Maharani of Nadia. It can accommodate a few thousands and it is said that it is the second of its kind in India. Delegation fee has been fixed at Rs. 2, Visitors' tickets of the value of Re. 1 and Annas 3 for the session are being issued by the Reception Committee.

Along with the conference the Reception Committee are trying their utmost to hold a literary exhibition and substantial collections have already been made. The Committee has appealed to all authors of the district to send their publications to the General Secretary for exhibition after which these will be returned.

XXI. PROF. BENYO KUMAR SARKAR.

The Academia Asiatica of Teheran, Iran, has conferred on Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, a member of the Editorial Board of the Calcutta Review, the Honorary Doctorate Degree of Geography for his contributions to the Economics, Culture and Sociology of Asia, published in English, French, German and Italian. This is the first honorary distinction accorded by the Academia Asiatica to an Indian scholar.

This degree was formally presented to Mr. Sarkar by Dr. Ohanian, Vice-President of the Academia Asiatica, at a meeting of the Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat (Bengal Institute of Economics) on the 26th December last.

We congratulate Dr. Sarkar on the honour which he has received.



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WYNDHAM LEWIS : THE ARTIST IN REVOLT

CHARLES F. GLICKSBERG
Newark, New Jersey

I

A strenuous propagandist in favour of individualism, Wyndham Lewis is also the artist taking his stand against all those tendencies, however authoritative, which restrict and frustrate the creative impulse. Art as a way of life, legitimate and complete, without defence or apologies, is what he would preserve at all costs. In the past artists were largely at the mercy of theoretical specialists, credulously borrowing their ideas from professors of philosophy, science, sociology, ethics and even aesthetics. They had to believe what they were taught because there was nothing else to believe and no way of checking up on the correctness of a theory. Writers were for the most part the willing and helpless dupes of professional philosophers. Statements that had behind them the prestige of science could not very well be disputed. A theory might be unpalatable ; nevertheless, it had to be swallowed like a bitter but salutary medicine.

Against this imposition, Wyndham Lewis has raised his voice in an angry roar. He will have none of it. He will encounter any adversary, however formidable, upon his own ground and beat him with his own weapons. He will meet blow with blow, epithet with epithet, satire with more stinging satire. An exhibition of learned talismanic terms fails to frighten him; he tears them apart and shows that they are hollow frauds. Quotations from impressive authorities do not browbeat him into submission; he has read them all and found them false. He is not afraid to go after the biggest game. And so in his books we witness an epic struggle: the spectacle of a writer laboring to overthrow the champions of science, philosophy, and criticism who oppose his conception of the creative life. He knows what he wants, he has tenacious convictions, he knows which values are fruitful and lasting and which are ephemeral and inimical. Single-handed he would accomplish the defeat of the time-cult—the relativistic, romantic, insubstantial universe of flux and the myths it has implanted in the general consciousness. In its place he would put the solid, clear-cut, actual world of the present, which is so congenial and so necessary for the artist. The world, he cries, must be saved from the scientific undertakers. For in his mind the most important thing in life is neither science nor knowledge but art—an art "realistic," rational, firm-bodied.

Though his strength resides primarily in his sensitiveness and insight as a critic of literature, there is scarcely an aspect of western culture he has not touched on with some degree of luminous penetration. He has studied and apparently mastered subjects like sociology, anthropology, metaphysics, political economy, and his knowledge is so vast, so well integrated, that he constantly surprises us with the wealth of his information, the originality of his associations. Yet though he has dug deeply in various areas of learning, it is hardly as a scholar that he comes before us, or even as a stylist though he is one of the most muscular and individualist stylists of his generation. He comes before us as a thinker. He is passionately preoccupied with the life of the intellect; unlike the philosophers who disembodied ideas into abstract essences, he concretizes ideas in their particularity and individual significance. Ideas have for him a vitality as of flesh and blood. They pulse, they palpitate, they breathe. They are things which he can handle and touch; they are forces which shape the course of life.

His function, as he conceives it, is to stand apart from the current time-philosophies and to interpret the present in the light of his individual needs and beliefs. Hence his rôle is that of a strident non-conformist, a violent *reactionary*, in the literal sense of the term. It is a difficult rôle to play, but he plays it with gusto and distinction. In an age given over to wholesale doctrines of collectivism, he has defiantly asserted his rights as an individual. A vigorous controversialist, he has not only defended himself against attack; he has carried the battle into the enemy's quarter and formulated a challenging counter-philosophy of his own. Relatively untouched by the regnant mania for politics, he pours a scalding stream of satire on the master dogmas of his time. No idea or system of ideas is sacrosanct; he strips them of their false glamor, their veil of modernity. Bergson, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, the Theory of Relativity, Marxism, Marinetti, Spenglerism—he pounds them all to a pulp.

His method of attack is extremely effective. Focusing a psychological searchlight on a body of thought, he then tries to discover the motive, the impulse, the will that informs it. What is the human—all-too-human cause behind this ideological effect? Behind the dominant ideologies of our age he detects a political bias to which he is opposed and which he would like to destroy. He would reaffirm the importance of reason and reality, the solid, three-dimensional world, the world of sharp outlines, the pagan world of the Greeks.

Our practical life at present is vitally affected by the speculative forces at work. Either we must submit to the ideas in circulation or else we must strive to understand, as Wyndham Lewis is doing, the nature and validity of the abstract principles controlling the machinery of our intellectual cosmos. Today there is evident a strong animus against reflection, a disposition to shun analytical thought, an abdication of the intellectual function. Wyndham Lewis, however, is himself a victim of the modern tendency to escape from the laws of logic. The facade of reason he erects is only a facade; it barely hides a mass of ego-bridling prejudices. He hates so lustily and so irrationally at times that his writing becomes interesting. The reasoning he pretends to employ is only an aggressive rationalization of hydra-headed antagonisms and antipathies. He hates America and the Americans, Karl Marx, Communists, the Jews, Soviet Russia, Bergson, Ezra Pound, democracy, the spirit of reform, science, cubism, humanitarianism, and what not. What is more, he is capable of

venting a fantastic superstition of his own as if it were a truth beyond argument.

He is certainly a stimulating, if not a profound, thinker. Force of circumstances, the terrific pressure of a dogma-ridden age, have driven him to cope with the political subject. His approach is individualistic and therefore highly original. Whatever the Marxists may say about economic determinism, the artist as *artist* is a revolutionary. Like Wyndham Lewis, he accepts no antecedent assumptions, he has little reverence for abstract thought, he pays no tithes to the modern Church of Science or Industrial Progress. He remains an embattled protestant because he will not surrender his individuality. Now individualism has lately been badly battered and practically put out of commission. But there is individualism and individualism. The individualism which springs from a vital integrity, from a stern regard for truth at all hazards, is admirable. In the battle of ideas—and ideas acquire functional validity only by a process of overcoming other ideas—stiff opposition is indispensable. The opposition provides a perspective, a point of view, freeing the mind from the obsessional influence of the cultural compulsive and breaking up—for the time being at least—the monopoly of dogma.

Wyndham Lewis may be sneered at and condemned as a Fascist, an obscurantist, but the arguments in his books must first be unanswered. These arguments thrust at one sharply from all sides. He is no mere aesthete, no dilettante. In point of scholarship, comprehensive knowledge, and dialectic strategy he is the superior of many of the Marxist epigones who now occupy the center of the ideological stage. He has read not only Marx but also Proudhon, Fourier, Machiavelli, Sorel, Bertrand Russell, Locke, H. S. Maine, Westermarck, Saint-Simon, Nietzsche, and a host of other thinkers. Despite their lack of sound organization and their surface appearance of paradox, his books are heavily documented and must be seriously reckoned with in any attempt to assess the cultural forces of our age.

In *The Doom of Youth*, Wyndham Lewis develops a thesis which will surprise many ardent evangelists of youth movements. He is frantically opposed to the maudlin idealization of youth—a sentimental crusade in which he detects a sinister motive. What moves him to fiery protest is the impending doom of youth, which is being marked out for sacrifice. Youth, he charges, is being rapidly enslaved.

by "Youth-politics," the economic purpose of which is to speed up and render more efficient the process of industrial production.

There can be, he declares, no purely industrial conflict. Politics have been transformed into economics. But he is fundamentally anti-Marxist in his economic outlook. He sees no class war, no sharp division of the population into labor and capital. On the contrary, there is a fierce war going on between conservatism and revolutionaryism, between the old and the new, the individual and the collective, the personal and the abstract. As far as he is concerned, nothing outside the individual interests him. His aim is to preserve the best individuals, the élite, and protect them against harassing interference by the vast undifferentiated mob.

Democracy, he argues, has worked to discredit the individual. Man has been moulded in the image of the machine in order that the span of life might be shortened. All super-economic technological programs are motivated by this aim—to curtail life. An attack is being made on the standard of life of virtually the whole of mankind. As one fighting in behalf of "life," he does not object to the youth movement *per se* but to the pernicious uses to which it is being put. The underlying secret of his animosity emerges in his hatred of democracy and the leveling process. If youth is to be foolishly encouraged, if everybody is to be considered promising and talented, then this involves a dangerous degradation of the true criterion of excellence. Genius degenerates into mediocrity—precisely the direction in which Europe is being driven by the fanatical doctrine of communism. He sees quite clearly the threat implicit in communism—a rigid taboo not only upon social privileges but also upon the aristocracy of the intellect. What Marxism attacks is power, not money. But genius is power. Hence the determination to stamp out genius in the perfectly communized republic. Thus what arouses him to a fury of denunciation is the concerted attack on the individual and his individuality. For genius, he contends, is nothing more than an excess of individuality. Against communism, a conspiracy to destroy that excess of life which he identifies with genius, he would set up a group that is "integrated on behalf of mankind, and not against mankind—on behalf of exceptional talent."

In 1926 appeared *The Art of Being Ruled*, one of the important books of our time. The political agitation that has been going on among literary groups, the fermentation of a newly awakened social

consciousness, the excitement born of contact with new ideas and crucial contemporary issues, these find full expression in this work. An insurgent in both politics and art, imbued with an amazing fund of energy and intellectual skepticism, Wyndham Lewis decided to go to the source of all the popular revolutionary ideas and appraise them for what they were worth. In this he revealed himself to be the good European whom Nietzsche had in mind—the unintimidated mind that insists on thinking for itself, on reaching its own conclusions.

There is a tide in the oceanic flow of thought when all the major truths of the past are temporarily swept aside. Or, to change the metaphor, an ideological epidemic seizes a country and germs of belief inoculate multitudes. Few suspect the reason for their adherence to the new system of belief. They defend it on logical or rational grounds when in reality they have been infected with the virus floating thickly in the contemporary atmosphere. Now if the theory of the struggle for survival may be applied to ideas as well as to animal and plant life, then ideological conflict is natural and healthy. Ideas are, of course, subject to the empirical test of reality. If they don't work, they will soon be discarded. There is a normal recalcitrance to ideas that have no practical or even theoretical validity. But it often happens that one idea is accepted which functions with a fair degree of effectiveness while many other possibilities of choice exist, one of which might in the long run prove more fruitful and life-giving. That is why an idea which triumphantly rides the crest of the present and encounters no heavy opposition is to be held suspect. It cannot prove its mettle until it has been contested. The excessive faith paid to-day to emotional cults—the myth of racial purity, the necessity of violence, the inherent equality of man—needs to be punctured, and Wyndham Lewis is the one writer sufficiently equipped and intrepid to undertake the task.

The one way out for the individualist is to demolish Marxism. That is the stumbling-block, the hateful enemy. As long as that colossus stands, the individualist is dwarfed, reduced to collective anonymity and impotence. For solidarity spells the death of heroic individuals, the aristocratic, talented leaders. If all men are fundamentally equal, then the sodden average is the norm. Mediocrity becomes the ideal. All this Wyndham Lewis angrily sets out to demonstrate in *The Art of Being Ruled*, and in the course of his assault he disposes to his own satisfaction not only of Marx but of

Sorel and Nietzsche, Bertrand Russell and George Bernard Shaw, Bentham, liberalism, the noxious dream of democracy.

Marxism, he insists, is a fixed idea implanted in the minds of the masses for their own liberation. Marx created the class-complex. Out of this arose the belief in the necessity and inevitability of a violent revolution. Such a catastrophic conclusion, he maintains, both distorts and degrades the idea of revolution. He is driven to dissent by the dull intolerance of the revolutionary mind. Since revolution has become the fashion it is time to break it down. In an age hopelessly committed to revolution, to be truly revolutionary involved being unradical. In refuting Marxism, Wyndham Lewis cleverly steals its thunder. He rejects the catastrophic theory of revolution, not, as Bertrand Russell would have it, because society must be shaped and baked a long time before it can be significantly modified. No, he thinks violence is insane because men can be more effectively changed—and chained—by other method. Why force them when they can be easily and instantly trained? Not that life is intrinsically important, he assures us, no mystical value attaches to life itself. In the matter of violence, the aesthetic principle is more weighty than the moral. The solution of our social and economic ills should be sought along aesthetic lines rather than along moral, political, or humanitarian ones. The revolution he has in mind is a radical reevaluation of the spirit. What he looks forward to is a discipline, a purification, whereby men will be arranged in a natural order. Not the vast majority but the competent and intelligent will rule. The intelligent few, the aristocracy of the spirit, should be organized as a counterbalance to the organizations now forming to exploit the many. His thesis is that the real rulers, for the sake of the ruled, should be made to rule openly and responsibly. Force may not be necessary, for in the future education will be a more potent conditioning factor than physical compulsion. Almost anything, he thinks, can be achieved by the use of suggestion and the powers of education. It was the blood-saturnalia of the World War, in which he fought, which revealed to him the vanity of violence.

Throughout the book it is the man of genius speaking, outraged in every fibre of his being by the coarsening and cheapening of life. The mob is his foe because the mob means the death of art, the doom of greatness. Equality does not and cannot exist. The best thing for the future of society would be a realistic recognition of the fact

that men are different in ability and in capacity for work. Only on the basis of differentiation can society function fruitfully and harmoniously. All this is uttered, not in logical sequence, in an orderly march of premise and conclusion, but with many a berserker shout, heated assertion, satiric jibe and jest. He hurls his pot of ink at the heads of our contemporary devils. He is too impatient to wait for the slow, cumulative development of an argument. It is as if he felt that readers can be best convinced by delivering a series of swift bludgeoning affirmations. Too often it is the manner rather than the substance that is impressive. The artist frequently dominates the thinker.

The book has value, however, as an ambitious attempt to expose the weakness of Marxism, anarchism, and Western democracy. His demolition of socialism is intended to be complete. The only sensible alternative, he believes, is fascism. Centralization on the model of the present Italian government is the ideal he recommends. That is his prescription for the economic ills of England. The state will be centralized like a smoothly functioning machine. A caste system will eventually be established which will be accepted as natural. His rough outline of a fascist society is based on the principle of spiritual ascendancy.

It is the life of the intellect that Lewis exalts—a life that is free from dogma and politics and is superior to religion. It is the intellectuals who have given the race whatever they possess of value. It is the intellectual and not the political ruler who holds up before men an ideal that prevents them from sinking into a mechanical rut. In the interest of art Wyndham Lewis would expel politics. "The destroyer cannot be at the same time the destroyed. The political impulse at work constantly distorts the issue. The artist or the thinker is apt to find himself making something, but ending it with dynamite, as it were. The political necessities underneath the surface are perpetually interfering, magnetically or otherwise, with artistic creation or scientific research." Politics, in short, have corrupted the integrity and destroyed the detachment of contemporary art and scientific thought.

As if tired of political speculations, Wyndham Lewis turns his attention to Shakespeare in *The Lion and the Fox*. Genius meets genius, personality comes to terms with personality. Even here, however, his political obsession does not abandon him and he proceeds to

draw a striking and ingenious politico-historical parallel between Shakespeare and Machiavelli, England and Italy. The basic conflict in Shakespeare's plays is found to be similar to the Machiavellian attitude of his contemporaries and bears out the parable of the dramatic figures, the lion and the fox. Shakespeare is portrayed as the contemplator, he does not participate in the frenetic whirl of action he sets in operation. Though he portrayed scenes of intense passion, he himself stood apart, opposing the passion and judging it, according to Lewis, by a contrary principle. Shakespeare, however, was not so much a philosopher as a supreme, responsive artist who could adjust himself to the life about him and do without the aid of any congealed beliefs. This leads Lewis to present his thesis that Shakespeare's work can be regarded "as a criticism of action and of the agent-principle." Shakespeare did not attack or criticize contemporary life. For he was neither the umpire nor combatant in this eternal warfare between the lion and the fox, the good and the evil. He was neither religious nor democratic, but he did express a personal system which was a purely aesthetic phenomenon. It is actually impossible, Lewis contends, for the artist to be impersonal. There is no such thing as complete detachment. Artistic creation is always a personal creation.

Time and Western Man, his major work, is unmistakably a personal creation. It is as if the doctrine he is attacking were a personal enemy to be clawed and mauled unmercifully. He is fighting, as he sees it, to maintain a way of life, the life of art, against all the insidious, corrupting influences engendered in this age. He would preserve the spatial sense, the present in the locus of space, the concrete, against the phantasmagoric flux of the philosophers. For him time is more abstract than space and, as an artist, he distrusts all abstractions. The reality of space is substantial, the new time-reality is a myth. The trick he is desperately endeavoring to expose is the transformation of space-reality into time-reality. The material world that we know is being split apart into psychical atomic ghosts.

In his researches he discovered that the theoretic foundations evident in literature and art and social thought exactly paralleled those to be found in the sphere of philosophic speculation. His paramount objection to the tyrannical time-cult is that it destroys the individuality. In his smashing attack he uncovers the extent to which the political or religious obsessions of a period influence its philosophy. All

about him at present he observes the invasion of philosophy by millenarian politics, and the time-concept provided by philosophy is wholly congenial to the contemporary political mind. There is a militant alliance, he charges, between the political revolutionaries of our day and the philosophers of time. In full reaction against these spurious doctrines, Wyndham Lewis seeks to safeguard the rights of individuality. The self—that is the only firm spot of land in a stormy sea of change. He will maintain his identity at all costs and follow, like Emerson, the law of his own being instead of mixing with mongrel breeds and creeds.

Life may be contradictory and its pattern difficult to follow, but he can recognize his essential self, which is composed of the group of the strongest, most powerful impulses. In any conflict, when faced with a crucial choice, he will side with the most powerful Me, and work in its interests. His is, therefore, a specialized, frankly partisan self. His reaction to the philosophic follies of his time is that of a plastic artist, rather than that of a politician or a scholar. "It is in the service of things of value that my ideas are mobilized."

He has been sharply criticized—and his assault on current ideologies condemned as narrow—for applying the standards peculiar to his craft to all things political, philosophical, and literary. His assertion that the realms of physics, philosophy, politics, and art are not separate, that they interact, does not answer the force of this argument. The artist, Lewis insists, unconsciously injects into his work political or scientific values, without knowing anything about them. Lewis objects to having the artist act as a passive filter for alien ideas. It is the business of the artist to perfect his technique, but it is equally his business, Lewis feels, to know from what source he derives his ideas and to include those ideas, and none other, which he may require for his work. He fails to prove, however, that these ideas are either alien or injurious. Art is not science or politics or philosophy, but there is no reason under the sun why a clear grasp of the fundamentals of science, politics, and philosophy should in any way detract from a work of art. Indeed, the contrary seems true.

His aim is to salvage and redeem the mind as a critical instrument. He feels that it is necessary to restate the whole "revolutionary" position in literature and art, a position which has been grossly perverted. The ideas he advances are supposed to constitute a method whereby revolutionary counterfeits can be detected. The art that is

to-day denominated "revolutionary" is an inferior, bastard art, shallow, didactic, consciously political. A truly revolutionary impulse in art emanates from a few exceptional individuals; a collective body never initiates or executes any revolution of any magnitude. Always the individual is the creator. In *The Art of Being Ruled* he had already voiced these views, and in *Time and Western Man* he reiterates that "no artist can ever love democracy or its doctrinaire and more primitive relative communism." Life in the rough cannot be made to conform to an artificially induced rhythm. It should be permitted freely to express its natural beauty and grace, which it derives from the cosmos at large. Life must be saved from the hypnotism of politics, the curse of the temporal. Art is timeless.

Though the artist works in a dream-life trance, he is not a spiritualistic medium. He constructs a world logically defined and physical and concrete. Wyndham Lewis gives us the key to his method: he approaches all problems with the eye of a pictorial artist, so that at bottom he is not concerned with the validity of the time-philosophy as a system of abstract truth which posits a mechanistic universe, a universe essentially dead, but to what extent it helps or hinders the fulfilment of art. Not truth but the salvation of art is his supreme concern. In a period obsessed with politics he proudly declares he is that "strange animal, the individual without any 'politics' at all." He repudiates politics because it would interfere with his deepest creative interests. He is honestly convinced that in order to get at the vitals of a movement, art is a better weapon than politics. In more direct and immediate contact with reality, art represents a more profound emotional truth.

Time and Western Man is a furious philippic. Up to the very last page, Lewis is setting up sparring partners—passages taken from philosophers and disciples of the time-cult—whom he proceeds to knock down with savage earnestness. The whole book is an exhibition of dialectical fisticuffs, one ideological scuffle after another. He no sooner disposes of one adversary than another rises to take his place, and it soon dawns on the reader that Lewis is confronted with a herculean task: he will fight the whole contemporary world of thought single-handed. His strategy, unfortunately, works to his disadvantage. What he contends for is simple: he wants to defend the solid, substantial world of space, the delightful common-sense reality of the pagans, its colors and shapes and hard outlines, against the dis-

integrating, shadowy, unconscious flux of Alexander and Whitehead, Bergson and Bertrand Russell. They are the evil proponents of primitivism; they revert to the infantile, the intuitive; they are illogical; they deny the existence of personality. But his rage is so great, his joy in battle so intense, that he forgets the primary purpose of a critic, which is to body forth a clear-cut, comprehensive system of positive values. It may very well be that Wyndham Lewis is by nature a controversialist. Satire and indignation and denial are the breath of his nostrils. Even at that he has committed a serious tactical blunder. He has overreached himself. In his eagerness to expose the alarming spread of the modern disease, he has filled his pages to overflowing with alarming clinical symptoms. Quotation after quotation is held beneath the nose and eye of the reader while Lewis exclaims: Is not this monstrous? At the end we get more of Alexander and Whitehead and Bergson and Russell, who are his pet abominations, than of Lewis. Though his views emerge, they are muffled and obscured. He stands forth by negation, by contrast, not in his own undimmed light. How much better would it have been if he had held in check his propensity for combative argument and refutation and settled down to straightforward exposition of his own beliefs, compelling us by the force of his logic—introducing proof wherever necessary—to accept the plastic as opposed to the musical man, the concrete as contrasted with the abstract and the spectral, the living present against the haunted past, the classical versus the degenerate romantic.

In *Paleface, the Philosophy of the 'Melting Pot.'* Lewis has written another curious book, again from the point of view of genius. In the name of genius everything is to be permitted or forbidden. That is to be the absolute criterion of value, the crown and consummation of historical evolution. Social institutions, government, the machinery of economics, work and wealth—all these things exist for the purpose of making genius possible. For the genius represents the highest species, the apex of human development. Naturally one who is bold enough to speak up in behalf of a glorious but oppressed minority, the persecuted guild of genius, regards himself as a member of that body, and so it proves. Much as Wyndham Lewis may pretend to a genial modesty, writing now as a man of science and now as a plastic artist and literary critic, his *tous* is distinctly Olympian.

This eccentric book is ostensibly devoted to the task of defending

the paleface (white civilization) against threatened subjugation. Economic competition is destroying the myth of innate white superiority. The white race has made a terrible mess of things ; its civilization is on a low scale, degenerate, materialistic, unconsciously cruel. And democracy has created a new kind of slavery. The verbal illusion of freedom has blinded us to our actual servile condition. Few people can be truly free. If such statements run counter to the dominant religion of democracy, his reply is that Nature dictated this plan—Nature which elementally refutes the romantic make-believe in the absolute equality of all men. Nature is neutral, neither good nor evil. A subtle fallacy, however, underlies this reasoning. It appears in the statement that Nature dictates a plan. Perceptible differences, it is true, emerge in the composition of the chromosomes ; heredity gives birth to surprising variations. Men are different in strength, beauty, intelligence, capacity for work, creative power. All that, indeed, can be taken for granted. Even the most fanatical democrat would readily concede the point. All the defender of democracy desires and is willing to fight for is the elementary right of human beings to equality of opportunity, socially, politically, and economically, so that they may make the most of their native talents.

This is precisely the *raison* Wyndham Lewis misinterprets, and he misinterprets it because he has such unquestioning faith in the "supernatural" powers of genius. If the concept of equality is a myth, that of genius is even more so. It can mean almost anything and is therefore, from the point of view of logic, meaningless. According to the nightmarish picture he paints, democracy is a vast hopper into which human beings, however different in aptitudes, are poured and ground to a cement-like uniformity. Coercive regimentation, he contends, is at the heart of the democratic process. As nationalism and industry increase, life becomes more impersonal, more efficiently organized, while freedom and personality are sacrificed. From all this it is easy to sum up his social philosophy. The universal law he formulates is that only a *person* can have a right. All rights are compulsive tributes paid to merit or personal character. No other obligations exist. While political independence can be acquired, independence of character is innate, a gift of Nature. In his rabid plea for the "rights" of genius, Lewis is forced to declare that rights are not rooted in morality, that they are essentially non-moral. Western civilization, he charges, has proscribed its natural leaders.

the élite, who now find themselves in an abnormal position. His rankling personal bitterness comes to the fore. He knows that he is now virtually an outlaw, without political and therefore without public significance. Instead of making demagogic speeches, he prefers to write books: "my abilities, and my interests, again, do not lie in the economic or the political field at all, but in that of the arts of expression, the library and the theatre." Professing, though not with much conviction, to be in sympathy with the new political norm now about to be established, he declares sally: "I am a man of the 'transition,' we none of us can help being that—I have no organic function in this society, naturally, since this society has been pretty thoroughly dismantled and put out of commission; though, of course, if you ask me that, I would prefer a society in which I was beneath a law, which I could illustrate and interpret."

What kind of society he prefers it is not difficult to discover. His book on *Hitler*, written before that dictator's accession to power, sufficiently indicates that Lewis is not only a potential but full-fledged Fascist. Setting himself up as a skeptic, he is, he informs us, far from believing completely every item in the National Socialist program, but when his steam is up and his hatred of democracy and its bastard progeny, communism, flares to a white heat, he preaches ardently for the Nazis and for Hitler in particular. For his bogbear is communism. It is either one or the other, Communism or National Socialism, and between the two he sees but one choice. His pretence of being objective and unprejudiced is sheer cant or self-deception. His visit to Germany turned his head. He accepts the theory of blood-solidarity and racial parity with perfect seriousness; it constitutes the basis of his belief in race as opposed to class. Hitler, we are told, is not a sabre-rattler. Indeed, if Hitler had his way, he would not covet territory by war but would remain peacefully at home. "And as regards, again, the vexed question of the 'antisemitic' policy of his party, in that also I believe Hitler himself—once he had obtained power would show increasing moderation and tolerance." There is no need to dwell on this lamentable prediction. It speaks for itself.

In *Left Wings Over Europe*, Lewis would save western civilisation from the Nemesis of war, not by proposing futile humanitarian resolutions or democratic conventions, but by unmasking the fatal menace of Communism. For the sake of security, England should mind its own business. Germany is guiltless. Hitler is the aureoled

saint of the armed European scene, the knight without fear or reproach intent only on bringing the olive of peace to his enemies. The best thing for the English Government to do is to cease coquetting with Marxist ideology and to accept this earnest offer of peace from the German savior. His admiration for Hitler, his impassioned plea in support of encircled, persecuted Germany, is complemented by his hatred of Marxism, his fierce anti-Communist bias. The reasons for his hysterical denunciations of Communism he has made plain on a number of occasions. The collective proletarian-dictated State will be composed of standardized, mechanized men, servile, slogan-ridden. It will mark the death of individual initiative, the right of the *person*; it will usher in the downfall of the creative man, the genius. Lewis refuses to have his private affairs regulated by a central body of authority. Fascism, he confesses, is a more honest and desirable alternative. If a choice had to be made, he would choose the lesser evil. For Fascism, he contends, allows infinitely more freedom than Russian rule. This volume demonstrates to what lengths of feigning impotence and inanity the literary and essentially unpolitical mind is reduced when it confronts the complex economic problems of the contemporary world.

II

What conclusions are we to draw from this farrago exalted nonsense and brave commonsense? As a satirist, Wyndham Lewis is by virtue of his varied and excellent contributions entitled to high rank, but then the value of satire is also determined by the validity of its content. Wyndham Lewis too often plays the part of a sulking child, enraged because it is not the center of attention. His insistence that we do not abandon the stay of reason, that we refrain from indulging in the infantile and the primitive, has proved a salutary influence, but how can other writers trust his leadership, follow his example, when they observe the curious direction he has taken, his support of Fascism, his idealization of Hitler and Mussolini, his distrust of democracy, his hatred of the people, his cult of genius.

Wyndham Lewis lends himself admirably to the psychoanalytic method. He is anti-democratic, anti-socialistic, uncompromisingly amoral. This beyond-good-and-evil philosophy, this attitude of rebellion, this denial of and contempt for everything European and esta-

blished, the radical and the humanitarian, stems directly from Nietzsche. The two have, it is evident, a great deal in common: principally the conviction that they are geniuses whom the world does not accept and recognize as leaders. Lewis is as pathologically and pathetically convinced of his genius as is the German philosopher; he is saved from the insane autofatery of the Zarathustrian pose by a sturdy intellectualism, a satiric gift, which makes for some degree of objectivity. But the taint of genius is present all the time and conditions his ideas, his outlook, his utterances. He is first and foremost, not for individualism, but for the individual: the exceptionally talented individual. He is proud to belong to the same class as Plato and Newton, Shakespeare and Beethoven the class of genius. Hence, being unique, he cannot consent to amalgamate with any group or party or movement; he cannot surrender his identity. Being possessed of genius he is endowed with power; the great herd naturally fear him and envy him and therefore band together in a vile conspiracy the canaille to rob him of his power. That is what he will prevent by every means in his possession, but it so happens that the only means he can command is a fountain pen or a typewriter. He is forced to vent his spleen, to voice heresies by founding magazines and by publishing violent polemics. His hates rule him; fill him with a dark, unappeasable rage. He looks upon this communizing world and finds it a bedlam, which threatens to imprison the natural aristocracy, the élite. Mediocrity is in the saddle, and it is riding headlong for the bottomless abyss where all distinctions, all standards of excellence, are destroyed. Wyndham Lewis thus represents the last stand of a desperate and obsolescent individualism; the sentimental apotheosis of genius. The literary David is hurling his pebbles of satire against the Goliath of Marxism and Industrialism and Science.

It will not do, however, to underestimate his power. He is a learned and formidable adversary. He can quote a host of authorities; he can attack and counter-attack and break through many arguments regarded as impregnable. Yet his system of values when viewed with detachment is chock-full of incredible solecisms. Defender of the endangered personality against the insidious assaults of communism and democratic reform, what he would put in their place is a society that is, for the mass of men, a complete negation of individualism. Of course, those individuals who are gifted, the geniuses, the brilliant intellects like Wyndham Lewis, will presumably wax fat and prosper under such

a régime, while the multitude will find their happiness in servile labor and automatic obedience. That in fact is the social order he would like to inaugurate: fascism for the purpose of making art and beauty and greatness possible. The slave is to remain a slave, the worker a worker. The farce of suffrage, the superstition that the will of majority should prevail, must be dispensed with. It is enough if the people are granted work and wages, bread and security. On the shoulders of a few strong responsible leaders will rest the burdens and the rewards of ruling. Lewis would not feel disturbed for a moment at the thought that to the mass of men the expression of their individuality is thus denied. Has he not proved to his own satisfaction that they do not possess any personality to speak of, that they are gregarious, vulgar stereotypes, without any desire for freedom or responsibility?

Wyndham Lewis is fecund, he is versatile; his mind is like a fox with a torch tied to its tail. It leaps luminously into the bush but it soon disappears in the darkness. He has ransacked libraries and come out with precious spoils. And yet he will not be read. It is a great pity. His grasp of reality is uncertain; compared to a thinker like Harold J. Laski or Bertrand Russell he is politically illiterate. He mistakes fiery convictions for knowledge. He is confused in his views because he is inwardly divided. Prejudices vitiate many of his judgments. Affirmations not concretely defined take the place of critical insight. If remembered at all, he will be remembered as a creative personality. As the arch-prophet of modernism, his beliefs and practices have exercised, even in their negative strains, a marked influence on the younger men, who evidently swear by him. In *The Arts To-Day*, Geoffrey Grigson hails him as the most remarkable artist of his time and defends him strongly against all aspersion. Mr. Grigson sets him up as a kind of St. Galahad of the intellect, slaying scores of dragons of confusion. But a critic is finally judged by his ideas, and those of Wyndham Lewis are of little value to humanity. What animates him is hatred of the mass, a snarling contempt for mankind. Derisive satire is his favorite and most successful mode of expression. He may go down in literary history as the man who wrote a bulky, scathing polemic attacking contemporary scientific and political thought for the purpose of advancing his own thesis, in *Time and Western Man*, that instead of a disembodied collective ego, we must cultivate a sharply defined personality, that individuality is all.

The cult of individualism is not new nor are the arguments Lewis adduces in its favour at all new. What makes his defence so striking and so novel is the fact that it should come at this time when the cult is in danger of being liquidated. "Precisely," we can imagine Lewis replying in his curt, aggressive manner, "I am a reactionary. I place myself in sharp opposition to the ruinous tendencies of our civilization." But what he fails to solve satisfactorily is a problem in logic and psychology. Exactly what is meant by individuality? The word is, of course, a stereotype. Current psychologies are relativistic and maintain that individual is a complex of selves, a pulsating ganglion of ego-energy, some working in co-operation, others in vigorous conflict. Most important of all, they demonstrate conclusively that an ideology is not an individual but a collective product, that we think and judge in terms of values derived from the group to which we belong. Though Lewis concedes that the ego is a miniature pluralistic universe, he argues, in spite of it, that there is a dominant, most stable, most powerful Me, which he will cherish and protect, for better or worse, till death do them part. In this way he is able to resist the flux of events, to island himself securely in a boiling current of change. But this all-powerful, steadfast Me, this pagan, immutable Ego, is in itself involved in the process of change, of dissociation and rebirth. For Lewis, whenever he is in doubt—and he as a constitutional skeptic has had his difficult moments—must determine which of his competing dynamic selves is entitled to full and indisputable sovereignty. Let us suppose that he is able to put the matter to a vote, that he counts the ballots and elects the victorious one. What has happened? Not an all-conquering self has asserted itself, but one that has been selected by a conceptual divining rod. If the mind changes, as it must, then the conception of the self is also bound to change. If Lewis counters by asserting that the conceiving mind is itself a part of the self, he must prove that the function and content of the mind do not change with experience, age, increased knowledge, economic circumstances, group associations. If so, then the self too changes and there is no such thing as an adamant, rock-of-the-ages self. Finally, even when he clearly decides which self is reality his most powerful representative self, which self does the deciding?

As for the disintegration of the stable ego (no such entity exists) by the collective ego, that is a fiction of terror conjured up by

the mind; a conceptual clummers. There is no such thing as a mass-mind or a mass-ego, except as a convenient shorthand symbol for a phenomenon too complicated to be otherwise explained. Many minds—for example, during a war—act on a common impulse, are influenced by the same emotional agencies, are carried away by the same desires, accept the same ideological pretences, but there is still no mass-mind, only a temporary alliance of many otherwise disparate minds and selves. All that modern psychology stresses is the enormous extent to which we are indebted to our social heritage for the patterns of behavior and the configurations of the self. Biologically and socially men operate on a common basis—a basis of instinct and instinctual renunciation. They speak one language, they observe the same fetiches and taboos, they subscribe to the same kind of religion and philosophy and art.

Wyndham Lewis, one is forced to conclude, has no importance as a thinker. What impresses one rather is unflinching sincerity, the impassioned honesty with which he writes. He may be wrong in his deductions, and frequently he is, but that cannot dim the force of conviction that resides in his utterances. He may sneer, he may laugh satirically, he may rail at men and institutions and ideas, but the redeeming moral passion is invariably present. He is the protestant incarnate, the eternal rebel, the individual who refuses to be confined within any party or creed, the artist in revolt who regards his work as more important than truth or humanity.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

SIR A. P. PATIL, K.C.I.E.

THE Government of India Act, 1935, introduced in India a democratic constitution, principles of Parliamentary Government in the British Indian Provinces based on a wide and democratic franchise. The relations between Governors of Provinces and Ministers were clarified in a statement issued by the Secretary of State.—“The essence of the new constitution is that the initiative and responsibility for the whole Government of the Province, though in a form vesting in the Governor, passes to the Ministry as soon as it takes office. It will be the Governor's duty to help the Ministers in their task in every way, particularly by his political experience and administrative knowledge.” The statutory and mandatory character of the functions to be exercised by the Governor in his discretion or in his individual judgment necessarily lead to the inference that with reference to such functions he has to carry out his responsibilities independently of the Ministers if necessity arises. The Governor should not ordinarily set aside the advice of his Ministers. The Viceroy in his message to India explained that the concern shown by Parliament was “to devise a scheme which would confer real and substantial powers on popularly elected Ministers and which would enable those Ministers to feel that they could, with confidence frame and implement with the co-operation of Governors and of the services of a programme of legislation on broad lines for the benefit of the Province, the Government of which was in their hands. The Act and the instrument of Instructions represent the intention of Parliament. “It is my conviction,” said the Viceroy, “that in the full development of this Constitution lies the best hope for that general and lasting amelioration in the conditions of the rural population and of the humbler sections of society which all of us so ardently desire.” Provincial Autonomy based on Parliamentary system of Government connotes the existence of a party system founded on political principles and political programmes. It is a travesty of facts to claim that there is only one political party in India and that the struggle

is between that Party and the British Government in England. If this is accepted, the essential basis of democracy disappears. Parliamentary democracy requires a constitutional and an efficient opposition with one or more political parties, having a common objective but differing in procedure and methods. Wherever the British system of Government is adopted, Party Government there must be. The success of democracy in England is the growth and development of political parties, each striving to do the best for the uplift and amelioration of the lot of the people and for the maintenance of individual liberty and freedom of expression though subject to a rule of party discipline agreed upon by mutual discussion and debate. Such is the democratic Constitution adumbrated in the Government of India Act.

The Congress solemnly and repeatedly pledged itself to reject and to "wreck" the Act and therefore it is a matter for much gratification that those resolutions were not seriously pressed nor carried out. The President of the Congress and other leading Congress-men admit that much could be achieved for the good of the country under the Act. The Congress Ministers declare they have been doing great service to the people. The general election under the Government of India Act added to the strength of the Congress in some of the Provinces. In Madras out of 215 members of the Legislative Assembly the majority party secured 150 members. In the United Provinces the party has 134 from among 228 members. In Bombay, out of 175 members they have 86; in Bihar, they have 98 out of 152; in Central Provinces they have 70 out of a total of 112 seats; and in Orissa they have obtained 35 out of 60 seats. It is alleged that in the Frontier Province there is a coalition government as the Congress Majority was not an absolute one. The Ministries were formed by the majority parties in the Provinces. They began to give expression to their political opinions which fill the columns of party newspapers without any adequate attention to the nature of the subject dealt with its capabilities or limitations. There seems to be very vague references or no definite conception of the principles of democracy. They pay lip service to liberty and individual freedom of expression setting up these idols in one form only to knock them down in the other. Independent thinking has become a sacrilege in the present day Majority Party Governments. They preach that the citizenship (membership in the Congress) is everything and that

citizen is nothing without realising its import. The Executive and the Members appear to be more responsible, not to their "Constituencies" and "the people" but to the Congress and Committees above them.

The most important item of village uplift is covered under a heap of incoherent matter, evidently intended to cater to the party audience and the promotion of partisan temperament and party propoganda. The recent attempts at Legislation for Debt Relief indicate an insufficient grasp of rural situation, at any rate in the South. The problem is variously dealt with in the Provinces. The wiping out of past debts or of loans or of rents would not help rural credit. The agriculturist wants capital from day to day. Hasty legislation in the matter is fraught with serious consequences both to the cultivator and to the landlord, yet this is the policy pursued in some Provinces. It is the personal or party programme which is more adhered to rather than the promotion and the material well-being of the rural population. This reminds me of an apt illustration given in a book "Modern Government as a busy body in other men's matters." A weekly journal wanted to start a campaign for increased circulation. An American Expert was engaged to conduct the school for the "Travellers" who were to scour the country for new business to enlist additional members. It happened that the journal could be obtained in two ways. Either it could be ordered from the News Agent or it could be supplied direct from the Publisher on a postal subscription. There was a good deal to be said for each method. Prospective customers were kept so busy discussing which of the two ways of taking the journal would suit them best and their minds were diverted from the other alternative, with the result that it seldom occurred to them the most important fact, that perhaps they need not have the journal at all. For a time the scheme worked remarkably well, but its foundations were bad and it came to a bad end. One Ministry proposes that the salaries of the government employees should be cut or reduced to a certain percentage to meet the deficit in the budget caused by voluntary surrender of revenues elsewhere by the policy of Prohibition, and that the people of the country should practise asceticism and another proposes a voluntary or honorary medical service in the State hospitals to replace salaried officers, a third proposes that village panchayats should form the agency for revenue collections; another argues that the corruption and

mal-administration in the city Corporations and rural local bodies could be removed by scrapping non-official agency altogether and leave them to the good care of the officials as of old ; yet another proclaims that the lawyers' earnings should be minimised and that there should be no reduction of court fees ; still a sixth seems to encourage the view that the end justifies the means and therefore Himas might be explained when increased police force coupled with the Congress unemployed vigilance committees are imposed on the ignorant illiterate peasantry to impress upon them the law of prohibition and the drastic rules made thereunder. Liberty of the individual is discounted. Maximum revenue and minimum consumption is scorned as a foolish idea. It is vain to imagine that social reform could be forced on people by Legislation. Social Reforms must begin first in the higher strata of people. The proposal to levy a licence fee on shops selling foreign cloth as opposed to khadi is of a similar class. It is not the wonder-working Legislation that would solve the most complex problem of "drink," as mere temple entry does not solve the problem of untouchability. The depressed class men are still kept apart as an untouchable class. Is there a change of mind and heart among the villages? That is the test. Arguments as to the respective merits of economic methods are put forward with enthusiasm. By these devices similar in every way to those used by the American Sales Expert, the public mind is kept occupied with the different aspects of one side of the problem now before the country.

Democracy is overshadowed by party cult. They appear to be so despondent as to have no power left even to remember the main problems involving the moral and material welfare of the people and to provide means to grow two blades of grass where one is now grown. The improvement of agricultural industry, mainstay of the country is not thought of seriously. The greatest need of the country is to take a broad and national view of matters, to rise above party slogans. The interest of the country should be the governing principle of politics and public life. The country first before community or Party.

The fundamental principle of democratic government is that the individuals and representatives of the individuals should have an effective voice in the government of the country. The members of the government occupy the Treasury Bench at his choice. However ignorant, passionate, capricious and subject to the influence of demagogism the people may be, the prudent and far-seeing person of the democratic

government must possess that patience, foresight and deliberation which would enable him to know the mind of the masses and the democratic assembly and shape events to the best advantage of the country as a whole. Crowds have their psychology singularly unforeseeable and dangerous with fits of anger. This was demonstrated at the last general election. A political cyclone has swept the Congress into Legislatures and into power. Nevertheless the man in the street shows sometimes more wisdom than is exhibited by the Executive of the day. It is the duty of the Government to reason with him and to avoid catastrophic policies or sudden changes. The whirl-wind of public opinion cannot be ignored. It is the possession of this ability to work patiently, consistently and decisively amid the conflicting and incalculable conditions of democratic politics which makes persons great and leaders of men. The new Governments have so far contributed not very much towards the success of democracy in India. Perhaps it is too soon to judge.

Reference was made to the fact that democratic government could be successfully worked only when there is an effective opposition. It will be a non-democracy in provinces where there could be no organized and an effective opposition. In the absence of such an opposition the present government ought to place its cards openly on the table and take such opposition as there is and the public into consultation. The majority becomes a machine, an automatic body to register the views of the Executive. It is the Executive that legislates. A herd-mentality is being developed. Independent thinking is discredited and even the intelligent and educated are being subjected to this malady. British Parliamentary democracy with reference to the provinces seems to become for the present a difficult experiment. It is therefore inevitable that in the conditions in which we are placed, one party government is growing towards autocracy and the provinces with the Congress majority are drifting nearer to the conditions in Germany, Italy or Russia. They may become a source of danger to the State as a whole unless public opinion is educated on proper lines to realise the untoward effects of the present system of Congress democracy. The law of Reaction will inevitably set in sooner or later, perhaps sooner than is imagined. In the meanwhile public should insist on a plan being prepared for every departmental progress or development, a scheme for the development of agricultural and rural industries is of foremost importance.

Elementary education whether for five years or seven years should be based on a definite plan with an aim that within that period every village should have a school and that no family should remain with an illiterate member. Thus the one-party government may yet be able to do some national service during the period of its existence. Finances must be regulated. The success of democracy in India depends on the proper control over the finances of the Province. This leads me to a suggestion made in some quarters that for India the British form of democracy may not be a suitable plan. India must evolve a democratic system of its own suited to its traditions, training and characteristics of the people. British administration brought in its train ideals of that country and engrafted them on the people. It may be noted that the Government of India Act is a great compromise and introduces democratic constitution in modern India where democracy if any, is a long forgotten past.

During the period within which the new Scheme has been working in Madras and elsewhere the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries (ten Ministers and ten Secretaries) have been each in his own particular way proceeding to speak matters of the Government. There seems to be no co-ordination in the policy of programme. Any one could proclaim a programme and policy affecting the people and for which he is not said to be responsible to the legislature but to carry out the Election Manifesto. There is such a great confusion in the public mind as to identify anyone as being responsible for any subject or portfolio. The revenue policy is an important one as it affects the poverty-stricken cultivator. Is there anything like a policy in the administration of this department? The last Government in Madras had been assisting and relieving the ryots of the Presidency by granting remissions during the last four years in all areas afflicted by the failure of crop and consequent loss to the cultivator. For the last Fashi Year with a view to arrive at a more rational basis for the levy of land revenue and to avoid periodical re-settlement a Committee was appointed which after careful consideration recommended that re-settlements might be done away with and that the demand for land revenue may be determined at the prices prevailing before the Great War. A remission of about 70 lakhs was thus proposed to be remitted to the ryots. The ryots all over the country have been eagerly expecting that the Government would bring into operation the beneficial

measures and there was only a belated decision on this vital question, when the due date for enforcement of payment of Government kista had approached.

The Ministry's policy is reported to have been explained, the official policy according to which the formation of village units will reduce revenue expenditure and afford relief to ryots—autonomous village administrations with powers (1) to collect revenue, (2) to grant remissions in suitable cases, (3) with powers in respect of law, registration, etc., (4) powers involving considerable transfer and devolution of authority from Government departments. The Minister laid down that the Government was theirs, peoples' government, and that whenever the ryots ask for remissions of taxes or for reduction of their burdens they should also indicate the ways in which the losses resulting thereby could be made good and also indicate fresh sources of taxation and how they should be levied by Government. When they are running a democratic government, it was said, that it would not do for them to reduce the taxes and sit quietly at home! The people asked for bread and they got a stone instead! Measures for Agricultural Debt Relief are a necessity but the people's economic condition and village economies should first be carefully investigated as economic condition of each village differ from one another and appropriate relief based on a system of conciliation should be considered. Destroying village Credit without replacing it by more efficient organisation is a suicidal policy. The relationship between the landlord and the tenant should be made more harmonious and a give-and-take spirit should be encouraged. The cultivating ryot and the landlord should be brought together for settlement of all differences. The Madras Bill is fraught with grave danger and it should be thoroughly reexamined before acceptance.

It may be rash for any one to state definitely that provincial autonomy has not helped the development of democracy as the period of work is short to show definite results but the indications are not promising and it is earnestly hoped that with experience and knowledge of actual working of the Governments higher ideals will prevail, the country and the people far above the concerns of the party and the pledges. Nationalism will then manifest itself in a real and abiding form. I have faith in the future of our country and practical wisdom and statesmanship may assert themselves for the better end of the country.

THE THEORY OF PAKSATĀ IN INDIAN LOGIC

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IN Indian Logic inference is a type of syllogistic reasoning in which we pass from the apprehension of some mark or sign as related to an object, to something else, by virtue of a relation of invariable concomitance between the two. It follows from this that inference is not to be regarded as merely a form of implication in which a certain relation of implication between two or more propositions is stated without any assertion of the truth of the propositions. On the other hand, it is a form of argument in which some thinker asserts that a certain proposition is true because certain other propositions are asserted to be true. As it has been pointed out by Dr. Stebbing,¹ 'the relation of implication holds between two given propositions independently of any thinker, who may, or may not, apprehend this relation. In order that there should be inference there must be a thinker who asserts the propositions.' The form of implication is this: 'if A implies B, and if A is; then B is'. In inference we argue that because A is related to B, and B is invariably connected with X, therefore A is connected with X.

It will appear from the above that inference as a form of argument depends on *vyāpti* or a universal relation between the mark or the middle term and something inferred or the major term. It depends also on the relation of the middle term to the subject of inference or the minor term. So it has been said: "Just as inference depends on *vyāpti* or a universal relation between the middle and major terms, so it depends on the relation of the middle term with the minor term."² In inference the minor term becomes related to the major through its relation to the middle term. Every inference proceeds with regard to some object about which we want to establish something on the ground of a *vyāpti* or universal proposition. Hence the minor term is as much necessary for inference as the middle term. The minor term being called *pakṣa* in Indian Logic, *pakṣatā* is treated as a necessary condition of

¹ *Modern Introduction to Logic*, p. 212.

² *Anumānaśāstra* des ōṅge *vyāpti* pakṣaśikharasāra, et., *Tarabāhārā*, p. 11. *Vyāpkyāya parvatādivyāptitāra* pakṣaśikharā, *Tarabāhārā*, p. 48.

inference. If there is to be any inference, there must be a *pakṣa* or minor term. Hence the question is: Under what conditions do we get the minor term of an inference? Or, under what conditions do we draw inferences with regard to anything? While the validity of inference depends on *vyūpti*, its possibility depends on *pakṣatā*. Inference takes place when there is a *pakṣa* or subject of inference, it becomes valid when based on *vyūpti* or a universal relation between the middle and the major terms. Hence while *vyūpti* is the logical ground of inference, *pakṣatā* is its psychological ground or condition.

From the fact that the minor term is an object about which we want to infer something, it will appear that the two obvious conditions of a minor term are the absence of certainty about something (*siddhya-bhāva*) and the will to infer it (*śiṣādhayisā*). The old Naiyāyikas¹ and the Vedāntists² accept both of these conditions when they say that *pakṣatā* consists in the presence of doubt about the *sādhya* or the major term (*sādhyaśūnḍeha*). We have a *pakṣa* or minor term when we are in doubt whether a certain subject is related to the *sādhya* or major term. Now doubt implies not only the absence of certain knowledge about something but also a positive desire or will to know it. Hence doubt as a condition of inference involves both the absence of certainty about something and the desire to prove it.

The modern Naiyāyikas take exception to the above view of *pakṣatā*. According to them, neither the absence of certainty nor the will to infer is a necessary condition of inference. There may be inference even in the presence of certainty. A logician may, if he so will, infer the existence of an elephant from its trumpeting voice even when he has perceived it and so acquired certain knowledge about it. Or, a man may infer the existence of the self even when he has acquired certain knowledge about it from the scriptures. Again, there may be inference even when there is no will to infer as when one involuntarily infers the existence of clouds from the roar of thunder. This case shows also that the presence of doubt is not an essential condition of inference, since there is in it no previous doubt as to the existence of clouds in the sky. Thus we see that inference takes place under the following conditions: (a) when there are absence of

1. Na nirvṛte'vācā nyāyikā pravartate kimśādhayitā, *Nyāya-Bhāṣya*, 1-1-1 *Sādhigha-sādhya-dharma dharmī pakṣah*, [Tārāśāstrī, p. 11.

2. Pakṣatvam tā sādhyaśūnḍehavācāram sādhyaśūnḍehā dharmāśūnḍehavācāram vā, *Advaitasiddhi* p. 29.

certainty and presence of the will to infer; (b) when there is absence of both certainty and the will to infer; (c) when there is presence of both certainty and the will to infer. But no inference takes place when there are presence of certainty and absence of the will to infer. Hence to combine the first three cases and exclude only the last we are to say that inference takes place in all cases excepting that in which there are presence of certainty and absence of the will to infer. This is expressed by the modern Naiyāyikas by saying that *pakṣatā* consists in the absence of that condition in which there are the presence of certainty and absence of the will to infer.¹

The conditions of valid inference have of late been discussed by some Western logicians. All of them, however, do not sufficiently realise the importance of the psychological condition of inference, which Indian logicians discuss so thoroughly under the theory of *pakṣatā*. Mr. Russell seems to think that all that is necessary for inference is the logical condition of a relation of implication between propositions. According to him, the psychological element, namely, our *knowledge* of the propositions and their relations, is not a necessary condition of inference. Thus he says: 'It is plain that where we validly infer one proposition from another, we do so in virtue of a relation which holds between the two propositions whether we perceive it or not: the mind, in fact, is as purely receptive in inference as common sense supposes it to be in perception of sensible objects'.² Some other Western logicians like Mr. Johnson and Dr. Stebbing,³ however, have recognised the importance of both the logical and the psychological conditions of inference. According to them, there are two kinds of conditions for any valid inference. The first kind of conditions refers to the propositions and the relations that hold between them. These conditions are said to be independent of the thinker and are called by Mr. Johnson the "constitutive conditions." In order that the proposition q may be formally inferred from p it is necessary that p should logically imply q and also that p should be true. The other kind of conditions refers to the relation of the propositions to what the thinker may happen to know. Since in inference a thinker passes from something known to something inferred, it follows that the propositions and their relations must be known by us. It follows also

1. Bhaṣyaḥ-karṇa-viśeṣa-ādihya-śābhitāh pakṣatā, etc. *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, pp. 309-10.

2. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, p. 33.

3. Vide Stebbing, *Modern Introduction to Logic*, pp. 215-16.

that what is *inferred* must not be already known as true or false. In order that *q* may be validly inferred from *p*, it is necessary that *p* must be known to be true, and also that *p* must be known to imply *q* without its being known that *q* is true. These conditions are dependent upon the relation of the thinker to the propositions involved in inference and are called the "epistemic conditions" of inference.

It would appear from the above that there is a consensus of opinion among logicians, both Indian and Western, that a valid inference must satisfy at least two conditions, namely, that there must be a true proposition and that it must imply another proposition. There is, however, some difference of opinion among them as to how these conditions condition inference. While a realist like Mr. Russell seems to think that they condition inference even when they are not known, Indian logicians maintain that they can condition inference only when they are known by us. According to them, while perception may be said to be conditioned by the existence of the sense organs, inference is conditioned, not by the mere fact, but by the knowledge of something as a sign and that of its invariable relation to something else, although the reality of these things and their relation is independent of our mind.¹ These views seem to be reconciled by Mr. Johnson who holds that for inference there must not only be a true proposition and a relation of implication between propositions, but that these must be known by the thinker who is inferring.

With regard to what we have called the psychological condition of inference there is a sharp difference of opinion among logicians. The question here is: Under what conditions does inference take place? The answer given to this question by the old Naiyāikas and the Vedāntins is that inference takes place when there is doubt about what is to be inferred. This is perhaps the most plausible view that would be readily accepted by common sense. No man takes the trouble to infer or prove anything unless he is in doubt about it. This view, however, is contradicted by the inference of clouds from the sudden roar of thunder, since it is not preceded by any doubt in the mind of the thinker who infers.

But then it may be said that the want of certainty, if not a positive state of doubt, is the essential condition of inference. In the

1. ŚB (178pt) ca sattaṣṭi cakṣurādīvaṃśāgabhāvāni bhāṣite kīṃto jñātatayā Śrīmadārāṇasamhitā, ch. I. Cf. also Śhāṅkaraśāstra, G; Vedāntaparibhāṣā, ch. II.

Advaitasiddhi this view is accepted as an alternative to the first given above, when it says that *pakṣatī* is the absence of proof relating to what is to be inferred. Among Western logicians, Dr. Stebbing also supports this view when she says: "Since inference is a process in which a thinker passes from something known to something *inferred*, it is clear that we could not say we had *inferred* *q* if we had already asserted *q*. It is, therefore obvious that *q* must not be *known* to be true, and equally obvious that *q* must not be *known* to be false.² There is a strong presumption in favour of this view. Inference as a source of knowledge aims at giving us certain knowledge about things. So it is obvious that if we want to know anything by inference, it is because we lack certain knowledge about it.

Now let us consider if the second view can explain all the cases of inference mentioned by the modern Naiyāyikas. There seems to be no difficulty so far as the first two cases are concerned. In the first case (a), we have inference when there is the absence of certainty together with the will to infer, e. g., the inference of future rain from the appearance of dark clouds in the sky. In the second case (b), we have inference when there is the absence of both certainty and the will to infer, e. g., the inference of clouds from the roar of thunder. While there is the absence of certainty in both these cases, the will to infer is absent in the second. This seems to suggest that the absence of certainty is the essential condition, and the will to infer is only an accidental condition of inference. But when we come to the third case we are confronted by an exception to the rule that every inference is conditioned by the absence of certainty. Thus in case (c), we have inference when there is certainty together with the will to infer. If this be so, we have to reject the view that the absence of certainty is an essential condition of inference and recognise the importance of the will to infer as a condition of inference. But the question is: Is there really any case in which inference takes place in spite of certainty and in virtue of the will to infer? The examples cited by the Naiyāyikas are rather doubtful cases. Thus it may be said that if a logician infers the existence of an elephant perceived by him, it must be because he has some doubt, however slight, about the truth of his perception. Similarly, we may say that when a person infers the existence of the self, known by him through the scriptures, it must be because

¹ *Siddhyarocayaśādhakamūlāśāstratrayam vā Advaitasiddhi*, p. 20.

² *Modern Introduction to Logic*, p. 215.

he is not absolutely sure of the truth of his scriptural knowledge. But there are certain cases of inference which may be taken as crucial instances. The path described by a falling body may be deduced by a physicist from certain laws of motion, even when he sees it and has no doubt about the reality of what he sees. 'We might prove to a person who doubted the correctness of our memory, that it rained yesterday, by pointing to other facts with which rain is necessarily connected.' A lawyer may produce evidences to prove a case of which he has personal knowledge. Some theorems of Geometry prove what is otherwise obvious or clearly perceived. At least, the geometrician who proves them has no doubt about their truth. It is true that in some of these cases there is some doubt in the mind of the person or persons for whom these inferences are made. But we must frankly admit that there is no doubt in the mind of the person who makes the inference. It cannot be said that the presence of doubt in one mind conditions the process of inference occurring in a different mind. Hence we are to admit that there may be inference in the face of certainty, only if we have the will to infer. It may, of course, be asked here: What does the will to infer aim at in such a case? To this we reply that it aims at demonstrating a known fact by showing its necessary connection with other facts. It cannot be said that the demonstrative knowledge of the fact being absent before, the inference is really conditioned by the absence of certainty. So far as the knowledge of the fact is concerned, its demonstration adds nothing to the certainty with which it was otherwise known before. Nor can we say that what the demonstrative inference proves is not that there *is* such-and-such a fact, but that such-and-such a fact *follows* from certain other facts. That a fact follows from other facts is no part of the conclusion of an inference, but a part of its grounds of premises. Hence we are to say that the conclusion of the demonstrative inference states the same fact that was previously known by perception or memory, only it arrives at the fact by way of inference. And, as Dr. Smart says: "It is not necessary for inference that the conclusion reached should be a fact which was not hitherto known."¹ So we conclude that the modern Naiyāyikas are justified when they emphasise the function of will in inference and define *pakṣatā* as the absence of the condition in which there is certainty, but no will to infer.

¹ Creighton and Smart., *Introductory Logic*, p. 432.
² *Ibid.*, p. 432.

THE POETRY OF CHIVALROUS LOVE¹

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IN the twilight that followed the sunset of the classical civilisation, the human spirit in Europe underwent a profound change, the effects of which are visible not only in the cultural legacies of the time but also in the spiritual activity of the generations that followed much later. The period between the decay of the classical culture and the Renaissance has been labelled by the historians as the dark age because of the general loss of learning, superstition and bad taste of the time. But in nature mysterious operations go on in the silence of the night, the results of which we see only in the light of the morning. The dark age of European history was a period of many such mysterious operations. It was the formative period of French, Spanish and Italian languages and of the new poetical metres. It was the time of the flowering of the romances and the legends of the saints. It was the age which saw the rise of the trade-guilds, the birth of the Parliamentary system in England, the making of paper, and the foundation of the institution of chivalry, all of which had the most far-reaching consequences.

The classical age was an age of enlightenment and rationalism, but it was also an age of limited vision and limited feeling. The sun gives light, but it shuts out the stars and the distant heavens. The Greeks were a superb race and have left us a heritage of imperishable glory. But we miss in the Greek culture those tremblings of the spirit which the sense of mystery and transcendence generate. The emotional range of the Romans was equally limited. They were great masters of material progress, great conquerors, great law-givers, great rulers, but their soul was never inebriated with the feeling for the unknown and the unattainable.

The classical man was a man of clear vision and clear perception. He saw things in the light of his reason. So he saw them in their

¹ An extra-mural lecture delivered under the auspices of the Faculty of Arts, Danaree Hindu University.

limitations and hence in their true proportions. The strongest feeling in him about life was not mystery but morality, a morality which enjoined the living of one's own life in a perfect manner. But the night of the Middle Ages brings with it, as it does in our daily experience, the sense of mystery and awe and opens up new springs of feeling. The classical love of the concrete and the well-defined is replaced by emotions for the vast, the unseen, the intangible, the incommunicable. Imagination expands itself in the direction of the infinite and the occult and religion becomes the dominant passion of the age. Man begins to fear and to believe. Life seems a miracle, a thing of weird suggestiveness like the star-studded mystery of the sky. In fact, religious sensibility so permeates every sphere of life that the Middle Ages have been glorified as the "Ages of Faith." We find its manifestations in the art, literature and social life of the time. The heavenward aspiration of the soul finds expression in the Gothic spire, the religious lyrics and the lives of the saints. Philosophy is wedded to Theology. New religious orders, such as the order of the gentle St. Francis and that of the sterner St. Dominic, preach and practise a new humanism of great social efficacy by sharing the sufferings of the people and by reminding them of the ultra-mundane ideality. Sentiments of sorrow and suffering, of piety, humility and resignation, of fidelity and renunciation, of charity and love, all ending in an ecstatic mysticism, constitute the characteristic moods of the age.

These new spiritual enthusiasms have yet another effect which distinguishes the dark ages from the classical age. It is the increased reverence for woman. Already the Eastern Church of early Christianity had developed the cult of the Mother of God and prepared the way for a mystic adoration of woman. But the Church of the later times made her a taboo as the natural friend of Satan and an enemy of God. This inimical feeling was deepened during the days of the Crusades when there was a sharp division between the love of God and the love of woman, because monastic chastity of life was considered an essential qualification for the fighters in the holy wars. But when the influence of the crusades was less powerful, "Dieu et ma dame" blended and the fruit was a peculiar regard for woman as a visible image of heaven and a holy link between the man and his maker.

This attitude we miss entirely in the classical age. Woman in Greek and Roman society was held in high esteem but there was no

thing mysterious about her. She was looked upon as a creature of flesh and blood and the fascination which she exercised upon the masculine mind was one of physical attraction. Love as depicted and sung in the poetry of the Greeks and Romans is always a thing of the senses, without that wistfulness, that tender spirit of adoration and delicacy of sentiment which we discover in the amorous poetry of the dark ages. Intensity there is enough in the pagan feeling of love, and we have no right to doubt its sincerity, but it was not considered as a spring of virtue, as a source of an elevating influence for the soul, as an opener of supramundane mysteries. Pagan love never dreamed. Eros in Sappho or Anacreon or Ovid was a full-blooded, ardent, impetuous and radiant youth who delighted in life and light and laughter, in dalliance and wantonness. The vesperal moods of submission, adoration and melancholy were unknown to him.

The new ideal of love developed first in the south of France towards the end of the tenth century in the midst of an aristocratic society and under the influence of chivalry and feudalism.

But before proceeding further, let us first of all briefly clarify our notions of chivalry and feudalism. Chivalry should not be confounded with feudalism. The two institutions developed almost about the same time, but they differed widely in their contents. Chivalry was made up of new and powerful enthusiasms of the spirit. It was a sort of golden dream which the men and women of the middle ages dreamed, and though it has its concrete aspects in some special observances and codes of honour prevalent at the time,¹ its quintessence was a peculiar mental state, an aspiration of the soul, which found expression in poetry and romance, but seldom or never became a social reality.

¹ In order to become a full-fledged knight or cavalier, the noble youngmen had to go through the following stages: From the age of 7 to 14 he had to serve a baron as a page. At the age of 14 he became an attendant squire, accompanying the noble-lord and the castle-lady on horseback. At the age of 17 the squire had to go out to search of adventures after which he was made a knight at the age of 21. The ceremony of knighthood, which took place before a church altar whether the would-be knight was conducted by two approved knights who became his god-fathers in arms, consisted of a preliminary bath of purification after which the knight put on in succession a white tunic, symbol of purity, a red robe, symbol of blood he was to shed for his faith, and a black tunic, symbol of death which he was constantly to face. A priest then said the mass and blessed the sword. The knight's body was then struck by the flat part of the sword by the seignior who at the same time said—"In the name of God, of St. Michael and St. George, I make you knight." The ten commandments of a knight were—(1) Faith in the church, (2) protection of the church, (3) protection of the weak, (4) patriotism, (5) never to turn one's back against the enemy, (6) fighting the Infidels, (7) discharge of feudal duties when not against the law of God, (8) truthfulness, (9) generosity, (10) fighting against injustice and evil. The virtues which were engendered by these codes were loyalty, liberality, courtesy and the sense of honour. Cf. *Le Chevalier* by Leon Gautier. Also Walter Scott's essay on Chivalry.

Feudalism was on the contrary a system of social organization which came into existence after the Germanic invasion of the Roman provinces of Europe. In pagan times the town was more important than the country. The Greek culture was a city culture and so also the culture of Rome. But when the Germans conquered the Roman provinces, they removed the centre of social life from the city to the country by distributing enormous estates among their vassals and thus creating a landed aristocracy who lived in fortified residences, surrounded by their own servants and men. The basis of the new mode of life was military and adventure and active life were its chief manifestation. Each landlord ruled his estate from his castle like a veritable tyrant and the constant necessity of falling back on his own strength for protection against aggression, kindled in him an inordinate love of power and despotism which not infrequently bordered upon ferocity.

How is it that the age which history paints as dark with corruption, intrigue, treachery, murder and other vices of the feudal system, is painted in rosy hues by the literature of chivalry? It was the ideal reaction of man against a loathsome reality. In darkness comes the longing for light. In the sombre gloom of the feudal times when the reality presented a picture of depressing moral condition, the imagination dreamt of spiritual altitudes which were bright with the light of heaven. It has been said that "in feudal society there perhaps existed not for several centuries a single individual who showed any symptom of greatness of soul or virtue."¹ The chivalrous world is, on the contrary, a world of noble sentiments and excellent virtues. Unselfishness, frankness, fidelity, generosity, parity of character, devotion to the cause of the poor and the weak—these were the characteristics of the true knight of chivalry. But when in course of time the poetical notions of chivalry acquired greater strength through the diffusion of the romances and songs of the poets, the ideal perhaps came closer to reality and exerted a modifying influence upon it.

Efforts have been made to discover the sources of the poetical notions of chivalry. Some have tried to trace the birth of chivalry to the manners and traditions of the Germans. Others again have looked to the Arabian influence as its primary source. Still another source has been found in the adventurous mode of life led by the Normans. It would be out of place here to take into account the evidences put

¹ Sismondi, *History of the Literature of the South of Europe*.

forward for or against these theories. What seems probable and what is now generally accepted as true is that the chivalric spirit is made up of elements derived from all these sources. The almost idolatrous veneration of the woman by the Germans is supposed to have supplied the chivalric attitude towards womanhood. The knightly spirit of vengeance and notions of honour with the sensibility to insults are considered to be the gifts of the Arabians, who had attained a high degree of moral development at the time of the rise of chivalry. The Normans contributed the elements of intrepidity, dash, gallantry. Yet another contributory factor was Christianity which with its crusades opened the gates of romance, and with its cult of the Virgin Mary helped in the development of the sex-occultism of chivalry.

As regards the period of the rise of chivalry, it is difficult to say anything with precision. The fall, flowering time of the cult was the twelfth century, but the writers of this century placed the age of chivalry in the past, and by examining the records of each century, the critics "are forced to confess that it is necessary to antedate the age of chivalry at least three or four centuries before any period of authentic history." (Simonds, *Literature of the South of Europe*.)

But whatever the time when the rise of chivalry took place, its poetry of love with the peculiar delicacy of sentiment and humble adoration of woman, was, as has been mentioned before, elaborated and perfected in Provence. There were several factors which helped this part of the continent of Europe to be the home and centre of the new literary and social culture. The south of France had the advantage of imbibing and retaining the spirit of the Greek culture at an early age, on account of its proximity with the early Greek colonies along the Mediterranean. Later the country was thoroughly romanised. Inheritors of the traditions of two cultures, the people of Provence had thus, even in those dark times, a natural aptitude for elegance of manners and love of arts which they did not lose even under the strong impact of Germanic invasions, which engrafted the feudal social system upon their Graeco-Roman heritage. Moreover the land enjoyed relative peace and a brisk Mediterranean commerce increased the wealth of the already wealthy lords of the soil. The castles of these lords were often visited by travelling companies of acrobats and jugglers who amused them by telling tales and singing songs. Their ladies, who were often dressed in oriental silks and pearls brought by the maritime commerce, also

delighted to break the monotony of their existence by listening to these tales and songs. The minstrels were welcomed everywhere and they often vied with one another in winning the applause and favour of their hearers by introducing delicate flatteries into their stories and lays.

Now, as these vagabond minstrels who were mostly people belonging to the lower classes of society, sang to these noble lords and ladies, it often so happened that some of them fell under the spell of some fair and gentle dame. Due to the difference in social rank, the minstrel had often to suppress his passion or to nourish it in silence and solitude. From his humble cottage he perhaps dreamed of the castle lady of his heart as a splendid vision. She seemed all the more splendid in contrast to the ignorant and unrefined women of the lover's own class and when he sang of her, the sentiment of love became a sort of vassalage under the stress of the acute sense of social difference. But where the passion was reciprocal, the lady, who was married, had, in order to avoid scandal, to be addressed in a cryptic mode, understood by her alone. In this way a natural passion was forced into unnatural ways of expression and a poetry of love was brought into existence in which the beloved was sung in terms of an unattainable ideal. It was the institution of marriage which stood in the way of the union of the lovers, because, due to the freedom which the woman could acquire only after marriage, the beloved was in almost all cases a married lady. But marriage in the feudal times was a strict bond in which adulterous relations were both difficult and dangerous. Moreover, marriage in European society at that time was a matter of negotiation rather than of free choice, and it may be that behind many such arranged marriages no feeling of the heart ever existed at all. Marriage thus came to be looked upon as a conventional bond into which men and women entered for social convenience, and extra-marital passion was idealised as true love. And as it was believed that the body of a woman belonged to her husband by right of marriage, true love was considered to be free from carnal elements.

Hindered by the institution of marriage, the love-lyrists of Provence began to move in the rarefied atmosphere of the spirit and reduced the passion of love into certain problems which were earnestly discussed by men and women at special kinds of social gatherings known as the courts of love, which were generally presided over by a chosen lady. Here are some examples of the problems discussed at these courts.

- (1) Which are the greater, the joys or the sorrows of love ?
- (2) Two husbands have, one a very homely, the other a very beautiful wife ; both guard them with equal care—which is the least to blame ?
- (3) Which is the most in love, the one who cannot resist the impulse to speak of his lady everywhere, or the one who remembers her in silence ?
- (4) Shall a lover who is favoured by his lady prefer to be her lover or her husband ?
- (5) Do the eyes or the heart contribute more to preserve love in a faithful lover ?
- (6) Which is better, to hate when loved or to be loved when hated ?
- (7) To which does a lady show the greater love, to one whom she gives or to one from whom she takes ?
- (8) Which lover shall a married woman choose, one who is the deadly enemy of her husband or one who is his bosom friend ?
- (9) A lady has three suitors and likes them equally well. All three once appeared before her at the same time and she gave each a token of her love: to one a loving glance, to the second a pressure of the hand, while she trod gently and with a smile on the foot of the third. To which of these three lovers is she most inclined ?
- (10) Which is preferable, to win a lady by great learning or by boldness ?
- (11) Is it better to die with one's beloved, or to survive her in sorrow ?¹

These are some of the typical questions that were discussed by the Provençal poets. These show how from the sentiment of love they had arrived at a sort of dialectics of love. The emotion of the heart was transformed into a diversion of the mind. The kind of poetry in which such questions were treated by the Provençals is known as *tenzons*. The word *tenzon* implies a dispute, generally between two minstrels. The first minstrel put the question, and the form given by him to his strophe was preserved by the second in his reply. The debate took place, as has already been mentioned, before a court of love, which sometimes consisted either of men or women and was

¹ These and other examples of love-questions cited in this essay are taken from *The Italian Social Customs of the 13th century* by T. F. Crane, Yale University Press, 1930.

sometimes a mixed gathering. The judge communicated his decision in a song consisting of a verse form of the same pattern as the question and answer strophes.

I have given some examples of questions. Here are some judgments:

There was a discussion over the question as to whether there could be such a thing as married love. The decision of the judge was that there could be no love between man and wife because love was furtive and jealousy could not exist between the married.

Two suitors who are equal in all respects ask for the same lady; which is to be preferred? The judge decides that he is to be preferred who is first in point of time. If their suits were proffered at the same time, then the one whom the lady most desires.

A lady who has a suitable lover marries and afterward avoids her former lover and refuses him the usual favours. The judge decides that marriage does not exclude prior love unless the lady be determined to renounce love for ever.

It has been asked as to whether the courts of love were temporary tribunals or permanent ones deciding actual cases from real life.¹ We need not enter into this question. But love not only came to be discussed in the courts, it was gradually reduced from a natural passion to a kind of art and elaborate rules and regulations were laid down as to how it could be acquired, retained, increased, diminished or ended. These laws of gallantry may be best read in a book written by a man called Andreas Cappellance who is said to have flourished towards the close of the twelfth century. From it we learn that love could be acquired in five ways: by beauty, probity, eloquence, wealth and readiness to grant the favours of love, and that the true lover must avoid avarice, must be faithful and truthful, must have few confidants of love, must obey the beloved, must not slander, must not betray the loves of others, and must be courteous and polite to all. Andreas's book lays down several other general principles of love and love-making, such as:

- (1) Marriage is not a just excuse for not loving.
- (2) He who is not jealous cannot love.

¹ It is stated in a book by Jehan de Nostredame that permanent courts of love existed at Sigon, Pierrefeu, Romanin and elsewhere. But the critics are disinclined to trust his evidence. But there is no doubt that from those social gatherings afterwards arose the mediæval allegories of the courts of love.

- (3) A man can love only when he has reached full man-hood.
- (4) Every lover is wont to turn pale at the sight of his beloved.
- (5) He eats and sleeps less whom the thought of love distresses.
- (6) He is not wont to love who is tormented by lewdness.
- (7) Nothing forbids a woman to be loved by two men, and a man by two women, etc.¹

A poetical exposition of the rules of chivalrous love may be found in a poem by a troubadour of the thirteenth century, named Amerien des Escas. In this poem the author gives instructions to a lady and a young man in regard to the manners of chivalry. To the lady he says among other things that she should seek a lover who is courteous. There may be exchange of presents between her and her lover, but she should not allow him to make dishonourable demands of her, so long as she continues to be unmarried. To the young man he says that he should be elegant in dress, should be discreet and reserved. He further advises him, in regard to his conduct towards his mistress, that in case she should give him cause for jealousy and should deny that, even when he has the proof of his own eyes, he should tell her: "Lady, I am persuaded that what you tell me is true, but I did really believe that I had seen it." (Simondi, *op. cit.*)

This is chivalrous courtesy in excelsis!

In place of the natural individual passion, the Provençals thus came to possess a particular social attitude and a special general state of the mind about love. In fact they created a new God of Love whom they worshipped not with the warmth of physical passion but with the virtues of the mind. They sometimes expressed this love in the form of allegory. We find an example of this allegorical representation of love in a poem by the troubadour, Pierre Vidal. The poet relates that once in the country he met a young knight of tender look and mien and of a slight and graceful figure, with a crown of roses. He was riding on a horse which was white as snow but was spotted here and there in black and purple. He approached the poet and said "Know, Pierre Vidal, that I am Love; this lady is called Mercy, that damsel is Modesty, and my esquire, there, is Loyalty." (Simondi, *Hist. of the Literature of the South of Europe*, Vol. I, p. 137.)

¹ Taken from the *op. cit.* by T. F. Crane.

All students of literature know how this new allegory of Love flooded Europe for several centuries. Henceforth we meet the *cavalier love* at every highway and byway of literature. Sometimes we meet him riding on his palfrey across a sunlit meadow in the May-morning ; sometimes we find him seated on the grass beside the cool waters of a brook ; sometimes he appears in the midst of the wonders of a garden ; sometimes under the emerald vault of forests. And he is always tender and meek ; gentle and virtuous ; dreamy and contemplative. Now he is in procession, now all alone. Now we see him smile, now we hear him sob and sigh. But his smile never becomes a boisterous laughter, his sob never becomes a wild cry.

Apart from the tenzons already mentioned the Provencals expressed their amorous sentiment in another kind of verse composition called canzos. The tenzons were poems of dispute, whereas the canzos were pure love-ditties. But the reduction of the sexual passion to a particular state of the mind renders the Provencal love-poems monotonous in character. The sentiments are almost the same in all of them—the worship of a woman who has been raised to an abstract ideal and according to the fashion and conventions which regulated the relation between the poet and the woman. The lack or slightness of personal experience led to a similarity of feeling and even similarity of ideas and imageries. Goaded by the desire for renown, many poets simulated passion for an imaginary lady—a trick which was followed by many later poets. Sometimes a poet would even fall in love with a woman, not seen but only heard about. An example is afforded by the celebrated case of the troubadour Jaufré Rudel who became enamoured of the Countess of Tripoli about whom he had heard much and sailed for the Levant in order to express his love for her. On the way he fell ill and reached Tripoli almost dying. On hearing that a poet was dying of love for her, the Countess visited him on shipboard. Rudel thanked her for her kindness and died. The story is known to all students of English literature through Robert Browning's poem "Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli." It would not be out of place here to quote the poet's own verses which he wrote before his last voyage.

Irat et dolent m'en partruy
S'ieu non vay cet amour de luench.
Et non say qu'ours la veray
Car sont trop noutras terras luench.

Dieu que fez tout quant van e vay
 Es forma aquest amour luench.
 My don poder al cor car hay
 Esper vezer l'amour de luench.
 Sagnour, tenes mi pour veray
 L'amour qu'ay vers ella da luench
 Car pour un ben que m'en eslay
 Hay mille mala, tant soy de luench.
 Ja d'autr' amour non jaurai
 S'ieu non jau dest' amour de luench
 Qu'una plus bella non en say
 En luez que sis ny prez ny luench.

Angry and sad shall be my way,
 If I behold not her afar,
 And yet I know not when that day
 Shall rise, for still she dwelle afar,
 God, who hast formed this fair array
 Of worlds and placed my love afar,
 Strengthen my heart, with hope, I pray,
 Of seeing her I love afar,
 Oh Lord believe my faithful lay,
 For well I love her though afar,
 Though but one blessing may repay
 The thousand griefs I feel afar,
 No other love shall shed its ray
 On me, if not this love afar,
 A brighter one, where'er I stray
 I shall not see, or hear or far.

(To be continued.)

THE PACIFIC BASIN—A CULTURAL SURVEY

KALIDAS NAG

While surveying the progress of Art and Archæology in Europe and the Near East, in the United States and in Latin America (*vide Art and Archæology Abroad*, published by the University of Calcutta, 1936-37), I was naturally drawn to the immense and so far inadequately explored Pacific World. The end of the Middle Ages was significantly marked by the pioneer explorations of Portugal and Spain leading to the discovery or rediscovery of the so-called New World already peopled by the Oriental Mongoloid races. The Atlantic Ocean then served as the great highway of Atlantic commerce and culture. The pre-Columbian art and culture of the two Americas were ruthlessly destroyed in the name of Christianity and the highly gifted races were drowned in the deluge of blood. A struggling and demoralised race, the American Indians, still drag on a miserable existence, occasionally rousing anthropological curiosity or ecclesiastical charity. But the prevalence of the American Indians all along the Eastern shores of the Pacific, from Alaska to Mexico and from Peru to Patagonia has only been indifferently studied so far with reference to the other cross currents of races and cultures in Asia and the vast Pacific Basin. Columbus, the first of the European navigators to touch South America, reached the Orinoco river in 1498 shortly after his discovery (1492) of the New World. He was followed by two eminent Portuguese explorers; Balboa discovering the Pacific (1513) at the Gulf of Panama, and Magalhães who plunged into the Pacific (1520) through the Magellan Strait. The adventurers, chiefly Spanish and Portuguese, were attracted by the silver of the Andes and the rich mineral wealth of Potosí in Bolivia. In 1698 gold was found in Minas Geraes of Brazil. In 1729, diamonds also were discovered in the gold-bearing districts of Brazil which was the largest producer of diamonds until the opening of the Kimberly fields of South Africa. Individual greed and imperialistic scramble of the Buccaneers and Conquistadores, always from across the Atlantic, superimposed a new Atlantic Civilisation on the dead bones of the Pacific races. With the growth of anthropological and pre-historic studies in the 19th

century, Science appeared in her new rôle as the mother of Charity ever so much more understanding and disinterested than the Church-ridden charity of older days. The vast wreckage of pre-Columbian art and culture are now being collected and studied mainly by the American Universities and Museums and especially by the Hays Foundation of the American Indians and by the Museum of Natural History, New York.

RACE ORIGINS IN THE NEW WORLD.

The American scholars, generally speaking, suffer from the incubus of a sort of cultural Monroe Doctrine. That is why, till very recently, there prevailed among American anthropologists and antiquarians the idea that "the American cultures were of essentially or even wholly American development." Thanks, however, to the painstaking researches of eminent scientists like the late Prof. Dixon and specially Dr. Ales Hrdlička, fresh light has been thrown on the problem, proving almost conclusively the importation of races and cultures from Asia. Since 1926 the Smithsonian Institution of Washington carried on explorations and studies in Alaska under the direction of Dr. Hrdlička and his colleagues and they have definitely come to the conclusion that the American Indian "is connected with the early neolithic men of Asia and through him with the Magdalanian and Aurignacian men of Asia and Europe." The cultural evidence of the explorations shows, according to Dr. Hrdlička that the men from Asia were coming over not as a people without a culture but already as carriers of well-advanced cultures of, in substance, the American type and from which further American developments, according to differing needs and opportunities, could readily have taken place in different locations.*

* Hrdlička: *The coming of man from Asia in the light of recent discoveries.* (1936) "Up to very recently there prevailed among American scholars the notion that the American cultures were of essentially or even wholly American development. This would imply that the comers from Asia brought with them but a sort of undifferentiated simple culture on the basis of which the American development took place; or that if they brought any specializations, these are forgotten under the new environment. The answers to this from our excavations are that the earliest Northwest, in so far as we can reach, is culturally rich and varied; that the oldest of the cultures there discovered, namely, the fossil-ivory culture of northern Bering Sea and of the north eastern Asiatic coasts, and the old culture of Kodiak Island, are not only the richest in forms that are the most beautiful as well as conventionalized, but that they come in full forged and that their outstanding features may be followed deep into the American Continent; while other cultural evidences are appearing that connect directly on one hand with the neolithic attainments of Asia and on the other hand with numerous elements in the cultures of the north-west coast and farther southward, in the Southwest, Mexico and even Central South America."

AMERICA AND THE POLYNESIAN WORLD

While admitting generally the migration of races and cultures from the extreme North-East Asia into America by the land route, occasionally supplemented by coastal navigation in skin boats, the cultural relations between Polynesia and pre-Columbian America is still being vigorously disputed. The solitary evidence of the sweet-potato exchanged between the two peoples appears to be unconvincing. Yet a veteran anthropologist like Dixon holdly broke through the barriers of such a cultural determinism and reopened the possibility of contacts so long disputed by the "isolationist" group of scholars. Dixon pointed out that "among such traits as blow guns, plank canoes, hammocks, lime-chewing, head-bunting cults, the man's house and certain masked dances common to the New World and the Pacific Islands, there appears the tendency to mass upon the Pacific side of the New World."

The Mid Pacific and the South Pacific cultures also when thoroughly studied on a comparative basis, would throw new light on the development and migration of Pacific cultures. The most important work in this field has been done by the devoted works of the famous Bishop Museum of Honolulu, which I shall discuss in detail later on. Suffice it to say that this major institute of Polynesian research has wisely explored as far as the Easter Island on the one hand and Fiji in the heart of Melanesia on the other, in order to explain as well as to co-ordinate the problems and facts of Pacific life and culture. So the progressive American University of Hawaii recently deputed Prof. Dr. J. Coulter to study the basic principles of land utilization in Hawaii, Samoa, New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, the Dutch East Indies as far as India. This healthy new development in the scientific outlook tends to base the conclusion of cultural anthropology on the solid basis of geography opening up new and unsuspected avenues of research which some day would link up the so-called New and the Old world through Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Indonesia, right up to the Indian Ocean. However late may appear to-day the penetration of the Pacific by the Polynesians, they are generally accepted to have come across the Indian Ocean and over the island bridges of Indonesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. This has been very effectively demonstrated by Dr. E. C. Handy, the learned ethnographer of the Bishop Museum. Our late lamented colleague Dr.

Panchanan Mitra also came to similar conclusions sifting the evidences from the Indian and Indonesian side while working in the Polynesian field with his colleagues of the Bishop Museum.

CULTURAL CENTRES OF THE PACIFIC.

Privileged to work for a while in the University of Hawaii, a major American cultural organisation in the very heart of the Pacific, I could gather from my learned colleagues information rarely available elsewhere. The youngest of the American universities is the one established in Alaska which, thanks to the explorations of American scientists, now appears to be the main bridge enabling the Asiatic races to enter the new world. Prof. Bruce White of the Teacher's College, University of Hawaii, worked for some time as an exchange professor at the University of Alaska and from him I came to learn that the University co-operates with archaeologists and anthropologists from outside. There are departments of agriculture, commerce, pedagogy, humanities, etc., and there are special arrangements for mining engineering with two months of intensive field-work in the rich mining zones of Alaska. U. S. A. got Alaska by purchase in 1860 from Russia and the Russians did not know then that some of richest minerals like gold, copper, etc., would fall to the lot of their American successors.

But possibly the most precious treasures of historical value would be the relics and survivals of primitive man crossing from the Old to the New world. Already the Smithsonian Institution of Washington has discovered invaluable cultural links and Dr. Otto Geist of the University of Alaska has made extensive explorations in the St. Lawrence Islands of the Bering Sea. Several submerged prehistoric villages have been excavated leading to the discovery of fossil bones, artifacts and other collections of paleontological and anthropological value which have been deposited in the Eilson Memorial Museum of the University of Alaska.

Turning diametrically to the opposite direction, from the North Pacific to the South Pacific, we find numerous important centres of research in New Zealand and elsewhere, as I came to know from my esteemed friends Dr. A. D. Mead, Vice-President of the Brown University and Prof. Dr. Felix Keesing who comes originally from New Zealand and is now permanently settled in Hawaii as the University

Professor of Sociology. Two important research journals of the South Pacific are *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, published from Wellington and *Oceania* published from the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, Australia. The Maori natives of New Zealand who are cousins of the Hawaiians, belonging to the same Polynesian family although separated by thousands of miles of the watery waste, are being specially attended to by the New Zealand Government which has established the Board of Maori Ethnological Research. It has rendered, so far, signal services to the cause of the Maori arts and crafts and to the general advancement of the cause of the Maori people. Detailed information may be had from Mr. H. Balneavis, Secretary of the Board, Parliamentary Building, Wellington N. Z. Rare exhibits of Maori wood carving, architecture, textiles and green stone implements are stored in the Auckland Museum which has been presented with the portraits of "tattooed" Maori chiefs. This "Lindaner collection" is of great ethnographic value. The Dominion Museum of Wellington also owns precious collections of Maori art, publishing a hand-book. The Christ Church Museum has a huge collection of Maori materials which for lack of space and funds could not be adequately displayed or studied. The University of New Zealand suffers from lack of co-ordination owing to the situation of its four component units widely separated as at Auckland, Wellington, Christ Church and Dunedin. The Dominion Museum of Wellington, the Canterbury Museum of Christ Church, the Auckland Museum, Auckland and the Otago Museum of Dunedin are some of the learned societies of New Zealand. Their experts of the departments of anthropology and natural history will gladly exchange publications, information, etc., with the scholars of India and other countries of the Middle East. While attending the World Writer's Congress (P. E. N.) at Buenos Aires, I met Mr. Johannes Andersson of the Turnbull Library, Wellington, who has published a valuable book on Maori legends and who is deeply interested in Indian folklore.

I had also the privilege of meeting in Honolulu Prof. Norman B. Tindale of the University of Adelaide who demonstrated keen interest in Anthropological studies in India for he came into personal touch with the Afghans who entered Australia a few decades ago. Prof. Tindale has the rare experience of tramping with the migratory primitive races of Central Australia almost on the verge of extinction. The University of Melbourne, one of the biggest in Australia, has begun

to take interest in cultural relations with India, thanks to the visits of Rev. C. F. Andrews. I came to know also from Mr. Duncan Hall of the League of Nations that the University of Sydney may offer several points of intellectual co-operation with India. Dr. A. P. Elkin, Professor of Anthropology and editor of the *Oceania*, would gladly exchange notes with Indian Scholars. The Mitchell Library and Museum of Sydney has an immense collection of materials on the Australian aborigines. The Institute of Anatomy in Canberra, Federal Central Territory, offers a first class collection of skeletal remains. The National Museum of Melbourne, Victoria, owns huge specimens of anthropology and natural history. The Tasmanian aboriginal culture is well represented in the Hobart Museum. The Museum of Adelaide is the finest in Australia from the point of view of display. Dr. Donald Thompson, anthropologist of Melbourne is interested in tracing the Australian aboriginals to their forebears the Dravidians (not Africans) who, he thinks, migrated through New Guinea and Papua. Recently there is a hopeful tendency to develop departments of Oriental (mainly Japanese and Chinese) studies in the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne (see C. F. Andrews *India and the Pacific*, 1937). Prof. G. S. Brown of the University of Melbourne and Dr. A. L. Sadler, Professor of Oriental History, University of Sydney are specially sympathetic.

Prof. Felix Keesing and Mrs. Keesing, both passionately devoted to sociology, came all the way from South Pacific to the heart of Indonesia, in course of their scientific mission to the Philippines. On the way Prof. Keesing stopped in the island of Fiji where he found important collections at the Museum of Suva in the very midst of Melanesia through which zone, according to some anthropologists, the Polynesians came from the Malayao World to Hawaii. In the island of Formosa, now under Japan, valuable scientific survey of the aboriginal tribes have been made by Japanese scholars and there is an important collection in the Taihoku Museum, Formosa.

Lastly, we should notice the valuable anthropological collections of the University of the Philippines under Prof. H. Otley Beyer who is a veritable encyclopaedia of the primitive lore of the Philippine races. It is now beyond doubt that, for ages, the Philippines archipelago had received ethnic and cultural elements from India, and yet, very unfortunately, no systematic study has been undertaken, from one side or the other, to reconstruct those forgotten chapters of Asiatic

history. Privileged to travel in the same boat (S. S. President Hoover) with the enlightened President of the Philippine Commonwealth, Manuel Luis Quezon, who generously received me, I came to gather valuable information from him and from his learned associates like Dr. F. Benitez and Prof. Conrado Benitez of the National University of the Philippines, who kindly furnished me with valuable information in course of our voyage back from Honolulu. The oldest University on an U. S. A. territory is the University of St. Thomas Philippine founded in 1611, and therefore several years senior to the University of Harvard. Transformed now into a modern institution, it has about three thousand students. About 1620, the College of San Juan de Letran was founded by the Jesuits who founded the Ateneo de Manila. Temporarily suppressed at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Colleges revived ever since 1880 when the Jesuits were permitted to return and now each of the above two colleges have over one thousand students. The National University was established in 1901, having now about two thousand students. In 1908, the University of Manila was established and although a private corporation, commands two thousands students. In 1918, was founded the Far Eastern University, originally a business college but now grown into a real University with all the Faculties and over three thousand students.

All these institutions carry on their work through English and therefore very conveniently placed for cultural exchange with Indian and the English-speaking world. The older generation of scholars in the Philippines used to write in Spanish as we find in the works of Dr. Tavera who showed in his Spanish book how the original Filipino alphabet was borrowed from India and how their most important vernacular (near about Manila) the *Tegalog* (a sort of Filipino *lingua franca*) was influenced by Sanskrit. Dr. Sixto Orosa, an authority on the Sulu Archipelago showed how Indian or Indianised races entered the Philippines from Borneo which links up Indonesia with the Philippines. Study of the folk culture of the Lanao Province has revealed survivals of Indian culture in riddles and folklores, games and festivals, arts and crafts, laws and morals. In the Middle Ages, the Moors also entered the Philippines and and on that subject a book has been written by Dr. M. Saleeby, M.D., who knew Arabic and was an authority on the Muslims of the Mindanao. Dr. Beyer of the University of the Philippines is collecting

materials for the last 15 years which are now treasured in the university museum (*vide*: D. N. Roy, "Indian Influence on Filipino Culture"—*Prabhuddha Bharata*, May-June, 1934).

The National Museum of the Philippine Islands was established in 1901 for the study of ethnology, natural history and commerce under the department of public instruction. Assuming an independent status in 1929 it is growing into the central museum of history, ethnology and art of the the Philippines containing also sculptures, paintings and other materials from Indonesia, the South Sea Islands and the Orient. The Government grants amount to over 21,000 a year.

The archaeological and ethnographic surveys of the Philippines, however, are still in their infancy. The Filipinos are naturally sensitive to music and art and from many Filipino students, boys and girls at the University of Hawaii I gathered that a veritable revival of folk-dances and music is taking place. I found President Quezon deeply interested in the revival of arts and crafts of the nation.

AMERICAN CENTERS OF ORIENTAL AND PACIFIC CULTURE.

While the majority of American anthropologists and archaeologists are still, generally speaking, isolationists in their explanation of American cultural origins, a few really outstanding scholars, however, like Dixon, Hrdlicka, Handy and others have produced valuable evidences demonstrating intrusion from or exchanges with the Asiatic mainland and the Pacific islands.* Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and sometimes Chairman of the Committee on Pan-American Co-operation of the American Association of Museums, is equally respected by both the wings, holding different hypotheses with regard to the origin and development of American civilisation. In his authoritative

* Dr. Franz Boas, the doyen of American Anthropologists, published as early as 1888 his monograph on the Central Eskimo, published by the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington. In 1897, he published *The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast* (Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IX). In 1899, the Alaska Historical Library and Museum was established at the Capital, Juneau, and the collections include ones and natural products of Alaska, agricultural and fishing implements, weapons, boats, clothing, tools, basketry carvings and historical materials of the Alaska Indians. The Government pays about 10,000 per annum. The library contains over 2500 volumes and 650 booklets.

The Museum of the Sheldon Jackson School at Sitka was started in 1887 and goes on adding to its ethnological collection. So the Alaska Agricultural College of Mines offers 45,000 items of Eskimo materials for scientific investigation.

summary of the problems given in the *American Indian*, he leans more on the side of conservatism than on that of radicalism; and so much the more significant, therefore, are his admission of the claims of the Oriental and the Pacific races as direct or indirect progenitors of American Culture. We recommend to students, in this connection, his chapters on "New World Origins," "Chronology of Cultures," "Special Inventions," "Somatic Classification," "Archaeological Classification," etc., as of special value. While keeping intact his scientific detachment, Dr. Wissler could not help expressing spontaneously his regrets, towards the end of the book, at the sudden and ruthless destruction of the culture of the American Indians: "As to what a few more thousand years of freedom would have done for the New World, we can but speculate, for in the 16th century a calamity befell the New World, the like of which has no exact parallel in history. A militant civilisation from without, fired by a zeal not only to plunder the material resources of mankind but to seize the very souls of men in the name of God, fell upon the two great centres of aboriginal culture like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. The blow was mortal. But the man of the New World went down fighting and though his feeble survivors still keep up the struggle in a few distant outposts, the first great onslaught that annihilated the Aztec and the Inca marks the end of our story."

To convey adequately the significance of the glory and tragedy of that civilisation one has got to write independent volumes. Here, in passing, we shall give a rough and ready inventory of the leading museums and learned societies of the two Americas, hoping that it would help our students and scholars to establish cultural exchange with those institutions.

LATIN AMERICA.

While it is easier and more common to divide the cultural institutions into North American, and South American, we think it better to follow the trend of history and linguistics by taking Mexico and other Central American cultural zones into the main body of the South American States, all organically connected and using two Latin tongues (Spanish and Portuguese) as against English used in the United States and Canada. Unfortunately for us while the archaeological and museum movements in Mexico are fairly active, those in South

America are as yet far from satisfactory and it was with some difficulty that I managed during my trip through South America in 1936, to collect some information on the subject which I condensed in the last chapter of my *Art and Archaeology Abroad*. We are thankful to the learned directors and scholars of the American Association of Museums for the valuable information which they have furnished us systematically through their *Museum News* bulletin and through their handbook *for Museums in South America*. We find therein about 100 museums, 11 Botanical gardens, 11 Zoological gardens, and 2 Aquariums.

Two thirds of all the South American Museums including 26 principal ones, are to be found in the ten capital cities of the Continent and only one third, including 9 of the principal museums are to be found elsewhere. Out of a total of 100 museums, 22 are devoted to natural history, 7 to archaeology or ethnology, 18 to history, 14 to art, 6 to commerce or agriculture, 4 to school service, 17 to natural history and anthropology and about 12 to general subjects.

The oldest museum in South America is the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro established in 1818. In 1823, the National Museum of Natural History was founded at Buenos Aires. The richest state of Brazil, Sao Paulo gives \$40,000 to its museum. The grants from the Government and the public range from 5000 to 25,000 dollars and some of the provincial museums attract visitors from 100,000 to 150,000 a year, the highest record being reached 250,000 by the Colonial and Historical Museum at Lujan (Argentina). The Museums of the Argentine Republic demonstrate keen interest in archaeology and ethnology, the richest collection being that of La Plata which I have already described in my *Art and Archaeology Abroad*—(pp. 114-15). The Museum of Tucuman located in the interior continues to publish valuable monographs, as I came to learn from Dr. Alfred Metraux (now at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu) who served there for a while. The Museum of La Plata growing out of the expeditions (1872-1880) of Dr. P. P. Moreno was made over to the government and draws about \$42,000 a year working in close co-operation with the University of La Plata. Specially important are its materials of South American anthropology and paleontology. The National Museum of Fine Arts, Buenos Aires shows the respectable budget of \$48,000. The University of Buenos Aires, owns a special ethnographic museum where the classes meet and I had the satisfaction of observing there not only the

collections relating to the ethnography of South America but that of North America, Africa and some other Oriental countries.

The National Museum of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro is one of the most important museums of South America, notably for its research, explorations, publications and educational works. It was founded by Emperor Don Joan VI in 1818 and its library now contains about 50,000 books and pamphlets. Specially rich as it is in its collections of the geology, paleontology and ethnography of Brazil, the museum tries to supply the comparative view-point through its modest collection from Greece and Egypt as well as specimens of general anthropology. The museum is supported entirely by the federal government which grants about \$142,000 annually. The Museum of Sao Paulo (Museu Ypiranga) is another important museum specialising in Botany, Zoology, History and Ethnology.

The National Museum of Chile was founded in 1830. It specialises in Natural History, Ethnography and researches are undertaken in the field of Anthropology. Peru, that stronghold of Inca civilisation, has several museums, the most important being the museum of Peruvian archaeology. The building is designed in the spirit of pre-Incan architecture and although its most precious collection is in the domain of ceramic (the potteries are carefully arranged like books in a library stacks for easy reference), there are also valuable collections of precious stones, metal, wood, shell objects as well as textiles. The museum gets about \$35,000 from the government. The University of Cuzco purchased in 1919 a private collection of ceramics and stone objects paying about \$12,000. This forms the nucleus of the archaeological museum of the University. So the University of San Marcos is proud to own its special museum of archaeology with the cultural relics of the Incan and pre-Incan peoples, their potteries, textiles, mummies, etc., that are used for instruction and research.

The small state of Uruguay grants about \$5,000 to its Historical Museum, \$10,000 to its Museum of Fine Arts, and \$1,600 to its pedagogical museum, all located in its capital city, Montevideo (population 43,00,000). Its museum of natural history shows a modest yet a valuable collection.

Of the smaller states, we may notice the National Museum of Colombia (named after Columbus, the discoverer of America) and the Museo Boliviano (with its section on archaeology and natural history)

founded in Caracas (Venezuela) in memory of Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Latin America.

Thus we see that Latin America from Mexico to Chile is trying to develop its museum of natural history and anthropology which, on closer inspection, might yield valuable links in a systematic study of the Civilisation of the Pacific Basin, specially with regard to the Western Pacific Zones. Compared with U.S.A., her politics is precarious and her finances slender. Moreover, the greater part of the United States of Brazil remains so far unexplored. Yet I felt that South America is a land of enormous possibilities.

NORTH AMERICA—CANADA.

Vancouver, with a population of 117,217 only, maintains its City Museum (established in 1890) furnishing 7,500 dollars a year from the City and membership, as operating income. Its special fields are natural history, anthropology and history of Canada.

Victoria with its population of 38,727 established in 1886 its Museum of Natural History with an operating income of \$4860 a year. It specialises in the natural history and ethnology of British Columbia.

The New Brunswick Museum of Natural History, St. John, which originated in 1862, was presented with a new building in 1934 costing over \$400,000. The provincial Museum of Nova Scotia derives an income of about 5,000 dollars a year. It specialises in natural history. The National Gallery of Canada at Ottawa has a purchase income of \$100,000 a year from the Dominion. The Art Gallery of Toronto was opened in 1916 and spent in buildings alone \$465,000. It has an operating income of 58,000 a year. The Royal Ontario Museum was opened in 1914. It spent \$400,000 on the first unit of the buildings. Additions and alterations to the buildings since 1932 cost \$20,00,000. \$50,000 are spent annually for purchases and the operating income is supplied equally by the province and the University of Toronto. The Museum takes special interest in Natural Science and Archaeology. It acquired the valuable collection of Chinese art and archaeology from Bishop White who selected things with the rare judgment of an expert and so the collection is important both from archaeological and artistic point of view. The Art Association of Montreal, Quebec (founded in 1860) was opened in 1912 with \$5,35,000 as building

expenses and its operating income is over \$26,000. It has a decent collection of Chinese and Japanese materials. Lastly, we draw the attention of our readers to one of the most progressive institutions of Canada, the McGill University. It started the nucleus of a Museum in 1882 with a collection on paleontology, geology and natural sciences. In 1892, it added the Library Museum with valuable documents on the history of writing and printing. In 1907, it developed its Architectural Collection. In 1926, it established its Ethnological Museum embracing the Eskimos, the Indians of the Pacific Coast, Plains, Eastern Woodlands and Middle West, the aborigines of Mexico, of South America, of Africa and of the South Sea Islands. A specially rich collection of books of the Ming period and other Chinese works numbering about 80,000 is now deposited in the McGill University. The collection was originally made by G. M. Gest who founded the Gest Chinese Research Library now incorporated with the University.

U. S. A. COLLECTIONS.

The oldest museum in U. S. A. was established at Charleston, South Carolina in 1772 which was thoroughly reorganised in 1915 as the Charleston Museum. Among its important collections of natural history, we find primitive handicrafts, textiles and other materials of the South Carolina Indians. There are also casts and originals of Egyptian, Assyrian and Greek sculptures.

In New York, there are several anthropological collections of outstanding importance. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, established in 1823, developed its museum in 1869. We find here ethnological materials of the American Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Siamese; also Far Eastern as well as Near Eastern ceramics, jewelry lacquers, textiles, etc. The operating income of the Museum is about 250,000 dollars and the city of Brooklyn was authorised to expend to the limit of 600,000 dollars for buildings.

The special foundation for the collection and study of the American Indians originated with the collections, began in 1908 by George G. Heye with the funds furnished by Archer M. Huntington. Established in 1916, the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was opened to the public in 1932. The cost of buildings alone came to 550,000 dollars and the principal of the endowment amounted to 735,000 in 1931. Its ethnological specimens include clothing, textiles, weapons, basketry, pottery, domestic and agricultural

implements, toys, art-objects, musical instruments, leather work and miniature groups showing home life and ceremonial observances of some of the tribes. Its archeological specimens include stone, metal, wood and pottery material from central America and West Indies together with burial artifacts and skeletal materials furnishing rich data for the study of the physical and cultural anthropology of the American Indians. The publications of the museum are valuable as can be judged from the few titles given below: Pre-historic objects from a shell heap at Erin Bay, Trinidad; Monolithic Axes and their distribution in Ancient America; Turquoise mosaic arts in Ancient Mexico; Beads and beadworks of the American Indians; The wood carver's art in Ancient Mexico; The goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico; Cuba before Columbus; Jade in British Columbia and Alaska; the Antiquities of Manabí, Ecuador. Situated in the heart of the city of New York, the Museum of the American Indian, by virtue of its excellent arrangements and scientific classification, affords the best facility for the study of the aboriginal culture of North America; some of the terracotta heads and facial representations are strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist sculptures of Indonesia.

The American Museum of Natural History, incorporated in 1869, has come to be one of the most important and progressive institutions of the New World. Its learned President, Henry F. Osborn is renowned in the domain of pre-historic studies. It was due to Prof. Osborn's energetic drive that Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews led the now famous expeditions into desert wastes of Siberia and also that Dr. H. De Terra could come to explore the sub-Himalayan regions and North Burma in search of the fossil man, under the Yale University auspices. This line of Asiatic exploration and research will let us hope, lead to some epoch-making discoveries. With its rare collection of Siberian and Chinese material, as well as those from the North and South American Indians, Mexican textiles, Mayan sculptures and ethnological materials from the Pacific Islands, this museum serves as the most important centre of study of the evolution of man and of the various races. Its principal of endowment (1930) amounted to 15,064,159 dollars with an annual operating income of 1,647,857.

In 1932, its African wing was opened with 1,000,000 and the south Oceanic wing with 1,500,000 and the Th. Roosevelt Memorial (1933-34) addition was erected with 3,500,000. What a valuable work is done

by the Museum would be clear to anyone from the following lists of its publications: The Extinct Rhinoceroes, Facial painting of the Indians of Northern British Columbia; The decorative art and sociology of the Amur tribes; The Eskimo of Siberia; Craneology of the North Pacific coast, etc., amongst the museum memories. It publishes also volumes of Anthropological papers from renowned scholars. Technique of some South American Feather work; Mythology of the black foot Indians; Pre-historic bronze in South America; Peruvian textiles; The sun dance of the Crow Indians; Kinship in the Philippines; The history of Philippine civilization as reflected in religious nomenclature, Racial types in the Philippine Islands; The Aztec Ruins, Time Relations of pre-historic pottery types in Southern Arizona; Peoples of Asiatic Russia; Anthropometry and Blood types in Fiji and the Solomon Islands; The Physical characteristics of the Ontong Javanese. Such subjects apart the Museum applies itself to the study of astronomy, mineralogy, geology, paleontology, comparative and human anatomy, etc., together with provision for class room work (begun in 1880) in natural science, geography and history, for high school and college teachers.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is another equally grand institution with rare collections and educational facilities not only for the teachers and students of public schools but also for practical workers in the field of design and decorative art. The museum arranges radio-talks, concerts, study hours and even lectures for the deaf. It has a library of over 70,000 volumes and its Oriental Collections include China, Japan, Korea, India, Persia and Asia Minor, as I have already discussed in my *Art and Archeology Abroad* (pp. 86-93). Incorporated in 1870 the museum constructed its original building costing \$ 1,519,000, with additions of a million dollar in 1900 and another million between 1914-1925, reaching the formidable total of \$ 7,577,327 in buildings and equipments. Its budget for 1930 was as follows: from the City of New York \$ 501,495; from memberships \$ 143,770; from endowment \$ 89,956; from admission fees \$ 15,000; from sale of publications \$ 54,592, in all \$804,818.

MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS.

Heaps of American Indian materials are found in the various museums small and big, stretching from Arizona to Mexico. The

Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona shows pre-historic objects from mounds and cliff dwellings, ancient and modern pottery from Central America, Mexico and South America. The Arizona State Museum, with an operating income of \$ 5,435 from the University, has pre-historic remains from Toltec and Aztec Mexico.

California is proud of several important collections; the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California was established in 1903 with a special emphasis on Western America, Peru, Egypt and on Ancient Mediterranean Civilization. There are also exhibits from Oceania, Australia, Philippines and Asia. The Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art was established in 1910 and shows varied ethnological material, excellently exhibited, from India, Central Asia, the East Indies, Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Africa and the two Americas. Its operating income from County and from the Art School, in 1930 amounted to nearly 800,000 dollars. So the South West Museum shows the principal of endowment in 1930 as \$ 697,351. Its special field is archeology, ethnology and history of the South Western States.

The Museum of the University of Colorado has ethnological material of American, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Philippines peoples. Its operating income from the University is 8600 dollars. Similar materials are found in the Colorado Museum of Natural History with an endowment of over \$ 200,000. New Mexico, really an integral part of old Mexico, has many important collections on pre-Columbian antiquities; the Aztec Ruins National Monument Museum established in 1916 and the Museum started in 1928 by the University of New Mexico. But the biggest research centre is the Laboratory of Anthropology started in 1927. John D. Rockefeller Jr. donated over \$ 300,000, and the Rockefeller Foundation authorised grants totalling sixty thousand dollars for six years for graduate instructions in anthropological field method. Fifteen selected students are granted annual *all-expense scholarships* and they worked in co-operation with the University of New Mexico and the Government Bureau of Indian Affairs. The School of American Research is developing field museums at the sites of excavations in co-operation with the local authorities.

From the modern collections of Arizona and New Mexico to the extensive archaeological remains of Mexico, Guatemala and other zones of Central America, we find a natural connection and extension. The

oldest traces, so far found, of human culture, are in New Mexico and Minnesota. Some ditch-diggers discovered the skeleton of a young girl who is supposed to have lived some 20,000 years ago. She is the ancestress of the American Indian whether he is Navajo or Peruvian; and when Prof. Albert E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota finished his examination of the skeleton of the young girl, he declared her as belonging to the Mongoloid family, corroborating thereby the independent findings of Hrdlicka and other anthropologists, establishing the Asiatic origin of the earliest races of America. Ornaments of clam shells and a bone dagger was found with this paleolithic girl. The first Pleistocene finds were made at Folsom, New Mexico, where were discovered excellent arrow-heads buried in the bones of extinct bisons which perished some 15,000 years ago. The gaps between this dim pre-historic past and the historic civilizations of the Mayas and the Incas have not yet been filled. But there is no doubt to-day that the Pueblo and the Navajo Indians are connected culturally with the Mexicans and Peruvians. The Maya civilization was highly developed before the birth of Christ. The first recorded Maya date, as ascertained from the deciphering of the Maya hieroglyphs, goes to the third century B. C. While astronomers helped in determining the Maya calendrical cycles (the Mayas were intelligent enough to invent the *zero* independently), their results were happily corroborated by the researches of a meteorologist Dr. A. Z. Douglass: "He discovered that the firs and pines of New Mexico and Arizona record droughts and rains with minute accuracy in the size and quality of their annual rings." Thus he managed to bridge gaps in chronology back to 700 A.D. The intensive study of the pottery which was going on side by side also helped to cover the five centuries of culture from 700 to 1200 A.D. Alfonso Caso, the Mexican archaeologist excavated the tombs in Monte Alban discovering rich ornaments for nose, lips and ear. Jade, alabaster and polished crystals; human bones with hieroglyphs, gold filigree, handful of pearls and one as big as a pigeon's egg and sacred paintings "more precious than rubies" such are the first archaeological offerings of the sacred city of Monte Alban in the Mexican state of Oaxaca. Equally amazing discoveries come to the credit of Earl Morris who excavated the Temple of the Warriors in Chichen-Itza. Amidst extraordinary diversity of styles and patterns the Central American archaeological finds nevertheless show a sort of a genetic relation with those of South America. Mummies have been found in New Mexico and elaborately

wrapped mummies are also found in the museum at Lima showing how the two peoples are connected. Vera Cruz, Guatemala and Honduras are also gradually yielding their treasures as described by Gann, Joyce and other archaeologists. Their researches are slowly unfolding the history of America's "Valley of Kings." The work was started nearly a century ago by the American diplomat-explorer, John L. Stephens who re-discovered some 44 ruined cities, publishing his report in 1841. Catherwood, the English artist who accompanied Stephens made excellent drawings of several important ruins and the English explorer Alfred P. Maudslay was the first to apply scientific methods to the study of ruins. But nothing was done to prevent the disintegration of the remains until 1925 when the Mexican Government organized its department of monuments. The Mexican Bureau of pre-Hispanic Monuments is headed by Señor Marquina who fortunately discovered in 1936 El Castillo, the most impressive of all pyramid-temples at Chichen Itza, which like many other ancient temples, "embraced within itself an older temple that has been completely concealed for centuries." A study of the outer structure of the temple demonstrates its calendrical significations, the Maya Toltec cycle consisting of 52 years of 365 days each. Superb examples of Mayan pottery have been found by the archaeologists of the Carnegie Institution, Washington. A splendid mural painting of Mayan village-life at the sea shore was recently discovered at the temple of warriors, Chichen Itza.

Thus the materials for the study of pre-Columbian art and culture, in North, Central and South America, are increasing so enormously that several volumes would be necessary to give a fairly adequate survey. Some of the leading American Museums and Universities and research institutions like the Universities of Harvard, Yale, and California, the Field Museum of Chicago, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Archaeological Institute of America, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, American Anthropological Association, American Antiquarian Society, the Carnegie Institution, the Smithsonian Institution and the United States National Museum, Washington, amongst others are making notable contributions. But one has got to establish correspondence also directly with the museums of Central and South America which publish most of their reports and monographs in Spanish and Portuguese. In many cases these pre-Columbian relics are reminiscent of Chinese culture and possibly, on closer analysis, other elements of oriental culture may gradually be discovered. The history of

human civilization in America cannot therefore, be written without reference to some of the races of Asia, especially of the Mongoloid family, who are now known definitely to have negotiated with the land-bridge of the North Pacific. The Harvard Yen-ching Foundation may gradually turn its resources to this fascinating line of investigation. So the racial and cultural cross-currents of the Middle and the South Pacific are being closely studied by the Bishop Museum of Honolulu, closely co-operating with the Yale University. Asia and America thus stand to-day, on the threshold of new historical revelations, independent in cultural evolution, yet interrelated and interdependent in the field of cultural origins. The vast expanse of the Pacific seems appropriately to embrace thus the Old and the New World, and we now pass on to the survey of mid-Pacific culture with special reference to Polynesia.



THE JOB OF A UNIVERSITY: NOT SO MUCH TO TEACH AS TO LEARN

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THE title of my paper is "The Education of a Business Man." Now please do not misunderstand me. One of the many things I do not know about education is how to train a young man or woman for business. However, in the past month or two I have begun to discover how much a business man has to learn if he is to understand education.

My own formal education was like that of many business men. I took an A.B. degree at the university. I was a student in an eastern college. If my classmates and I had analysed ourselves honestly, most of us were there to put in our four pleasant years at our parents' expense. Our ambition was to become "college men." It seemed important to us then that our *Alma Mater* should have a winning football team, even if football had little to do with our education. We wanted good grades in our courses, providing it didn't take too much of our time. The professors were doubtless fine men. We never got to know any of them. In fact we avoided them whenever possible.

George Santayana, the philosopher, once described the relation between my classmates and the professors as like that between a milkmaid and a cow. "Mutual contributions may pass between them," Santayana remarked, "but not conversation." The professors' job was to conduct classes, to keep us awake to them and at the end of the semester to engage us in a battle for grades.

That was the picture which I carried with me into what we called "life." Few of my classmates even considered the merits of further education once we were entitled to call ourselves "Bachelors of Arts," unless we wanted to become high-priced lawyers or doctors and had to stay on. It seldom occurred to us that a life of scholarship or University research might be a career for a man. To us, the graduate student, to quote Dr. George E. Vincent, was a fellow who didn't know enough to go home when the party was over.

My father was a Professor of a well-known American University and I was raised near its campus. I received a degree from another

well-known University. Now I am on the staff of a third. I am now for the first time, trying to understand how a great University contributes to civilization. I am learning fast by seeing one of America's great Universities in action, and by seeing it from the inside. The effort to define a University to you, however, seems almost as difficult as defining life, or love, or religion.

In the writings of Dr. Eliot, former President of Harvard, I found one definition. "A University," Dr. Eliot wrote, "is a society of learned men, each a master in his own field, each acquainted with what has been achieved in all past time in a special subject, each prepared to push forward a little the present limits of knowledge. Hence, Universities are places of research, of diligent inquiry for new or forgotten truths. This incessant singleminded research for new truth is the condition essential for both the material and the intellectual progress of the nation and the race."

This definition will help you to understand the University of Chicago. It will help you to realize why there are a great many students here who are scarcely aware that their University has a football team. Professors do meet classes; yet there are some Chicago Professors who do a large part of their work thousands of miles from the campus. Some of the most famous teach only a few students, and not in class rooms at all, but in offices and laboratories.

The longer I am here, the more I learn of this major phase of University work, the phase emphasized in Dr. Eliot's definition: *Research*. One day last week I heard of four widely different examples. One University of Chicago Professor, an expert on South American geography, had been flying over the wide country at the headwaters of the Amazon River, developing new methods of geographical observation from the air; another, a biochemist who is trying to discover new knowledge about the pituitary gland had just returned from a whaling expedition off the coast of British Columbia, where he had secured samples of the unusual pituitary glands of whales; a third, a scholar of English literature, was back from London, where he and several students had been at work in the Public Records Office, seeking to check the sources used by Geoffrey Chaucer in writing the *Canterbury Tales*; a fourth, a graduate student in sociology, had turned in a report of his interviews with narcotic addicted, and his conclusions as to why people become addicted to drugs.

I asked, "How many members of the University of Chicago

Faculty devote most of their working time to research?" The answer was "At least five hundred." I learned, too, that more than fifteen hundred advanced students, "graduate students" as they are called, are engaged in research work, and that more than half the University's budget goes into research.

How can this scene of intense, varied intellectual activity be reconciled with the average man's picture of bright college days, a picture which grows brighter through the mist of years and which is heightened by alumni re-unions, by the movies, and by the thousands of columns the newspapers give to college athletics? How can it be matched against recollections of football and chrysanthemums, fraternities and dances, the rush to make the 9:00 o'clock bell?

The answer is simple. It lies in the difference between a *College* and a *University*. This difference is far greater than most Americans appreciate. A college is chiefly concerned with teaching. Its main job is to acquaint young citizens with the essential parts of mankind's accumulated learning. Its purpose should be to train them to think—to think clearly and to think for themselves. That is an important job.

A University's job, on the other hand, is not so much to *teach* as to *learn*. In other words, it is concerned with discovering new knowledge. And that is an even more important job, if civilization is to advance. A University might do no formal classroom teaching and still be the greatest University in the world. It would need no students in the accepted sense, no seekers after degrees, but it would need the greatest staff of scholars and investigators, and the best equipment, that could be assembled. Of course Universities should also engage in teaching. They must educate those who are to be the scholars, scientists, and professional men of the next generation. To take the highest degree at an institution like the University of Chicago the student must himself make an original contribution to human knowledge. He must discover something that has never been known before.

There are more than a thousand colleges in the United States. At a maximum there are not more than thirty real Universities. Eight or ten of these Universities are privately endowed and financed. Harvard, Yale, Columbia and the University of Chicago are the best known of these. The rest are state institutions, supported by public taxes. Part of the confusion in the public mind between colleges and Univer-

sities is that Universities maintain under-graduate colleges. Some of them, like the University of Chicago with its new plan, do a brilliant job of under-graduate teaching. These colleges give the Universities the flavor of college life.

What is it Universities try to learn? What good does University research do? A business man certainly should be the first to applaud the idea of research. The greatest advances of modern business and industry rest upon scientific and technological experimentation. But here again the business man has something to learn about Universities. Most of us have confused science with the invention of new gadgets.

Recently I talked with Professor Arthur H. Compton, the University of Chicago's great physicist, who has won the Nobel Prize in science. He is not interested in perfecting articles for the market. He spends most of his time trying to learn the nature of cosmic rays, those mysterious radiations which come from outer space and strike the earth with tremendous energy. I asked him a business man's question "What practical benefits can we secure from cosmic rays?" He didn't smile. He said, "The first thing they will do is help us understand the universe in which we live. As for practical consequences, we cannot tell surely. It may be that research into cosmic rays will be one link in a chain of investigation, undertaken by many men over many decades, which will lead some day to the release of atomic energy."

I might have told Dr. Compton that if his experiments led to that result, to providing mankind with unlimited, cheap energy—power at everyone's hand—he would influence the course of history more profoundly than any dictator now living.

To those of us who ask, "What good is a cosmic ray?" the answer was given long ago by a great scientist, who was asked a similar question by a politician and replied, "Sir, some day you may be taxing it." He was Michael Faraday, and he had discovered something interesting, but apparently useless. It was the principle of electro-magnetic induction, which is the basis of our electrical industry.

The ultimate aim of a University's work is to contribute to the welfare of mankind—to the happiness of man's mind and the health of his body. But it must take many paths to arrive at this long-term goal. For example, many years ago a group of Wisconsin carnation growers asked the Department of Botany at the University of Chicago to find out why their flowers curled up and died in Chicago green-

houses. The botanists discovered that ethylene, a component of Chicago's illuminating gas, was killing the carnations. They mentioned this to Dr. Arno Luckhardt, a University physiologist. Dr. Luckhardt wondered what ethylene would do to rats. That was the start of his discovery of ethylene as an anesthetic. Since then it has been used in millions of operations in hospitals, as an improvement over chloroform or ether. Dr. Luckhardt, of course, might have made a fortune by patenting his discovery, but he didn't.

Thus the ultimate conquest of cancer may come not from a medical laboratory but from the laboratory of some obscure University investigator who is trying to discover new knowledge about the nature of living tissue. Adolph Ochs, the late publisher of the *New York Times*, said that if the cure for cancer were ever discovered he would devote the first seven pages of his newspaper to it. That makes it news more important than the outbreak of a European war.

Politicians like to talk about the more abundant life. The Universities are doing more than the politicians ultimately to produce it. The Universities, through their research, may save or enrich thousands of lives six months from now. Much of their work, however, will come to fruition decades, perhaps centuries, from now, when those who are doing it are dead and succeeding generations have carried it forward. Business-men have to think in terms of today, tomorrow, next month, or next year. They should try to understand, and appreciate, the men whose gaze is also turned toward the centuries to come.

Thus a University is made great by having great scholars and investigators on its staff, by providing them with equipment, and by giving them freedom to search for the truth. If we deny them freedom, we are claiming that we already know all the answers to our problems. Some of the European countries now deny freedom to their Universities. The Universities of America are welcoming the exiled scholars of these countries. The time may shortly arrive, if indeed it is not already here, when the United States will be the chief center of the world's learning, the home of man's eternal search for truth.

IDEALS OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY *

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I. THE OLD AND NEW GEOGRAPHIES.

At the present time, when the University of Calcutta has under active consideration the granting of full university status to the subject of geography, it is of more than passing interest to examine the claims of the subject and such recognition. In the first place it may be said that few subjects, if any, have changed more radically in concept and outlook within the last few decades. Many of us, perhaps the majority, have recollections of our school days when we suffered from what may be called the 'Old Geography.' My own earliest memory of the subject is of standing up and reciting in chorus a creed which embraced the capes and bays of England, an exercise which was followed in due course by a list of the counties of England, the county towns and the rivers on which the latter were situated. At a more advanced stage we did 'commercial' geography, which consisted mainly of countries and what they were "noted for" and of towns and what they were "noted for." Woe betide the boy or girl who got the town concerned 'noted for' the wrong product! Yet we were rarely, if ever, given adequate reasons for the facts we learnt parrot fashion, 'how' and 'why' scarcely entered into consideration. The old geography only claimed to be "a description of the earth and its inhabitants" and indeed it really consisted of endless catalogues of dull facts—useful in some cases there is little doubt, but scarcely interesting and certainly not inspiring.

We certainly were not led to the knowledge that so many of the facts we learnt were the result of a few simple or fundamental underlying causes. The new geography first seeks to distinguish or understand these causes or influences. For this reason the new geography is sometimes called 'causal geography'—not, perhaps, a

* [Being the summary of a lecture delivered in the Assembly Hall, University of Calcutta, on January 31st, 1936, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. P. Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, by Dr. L. Dudley Stamp.]

happy term because of the easy confusion with 'casual.' Let us hope that in any case the modern geography is not casual. Its subject-matter is, indeed, the happenings which affect our every-day lives and many of the events or information conveyed to us by our daily papers; but its handling of subject-matter is essentially a systematic and rational one.

The new approach has been worked out almost entirely since the dawn of the present century. It is associated especially with the names of Professor J. F. Herbertson and Sir Halford Mackinder in England, Miss E. C. Semple in America, Ratzel in Germany and Vidal de la Blache in France. Their work belongs to the period before the Great War: the great development of the subject is a post-war phenomenon.

Perhaps for the first time during the Great War we realized the inter-dependance of all parts of the world. Despite nationalistic developments the telephone, wireless, improvement in communications by air, sea and land and the growing demands of modern civilised life all tend to link the world together as a single unit. We are forced to realise that the progress and prosperity of any one part depends upon the progress and prosperity of the whole and that, as citizens of any one country, we are also citizens of the world and require the organised knowledge of geography to guide us in formulating opinions and determining our actions.

It is important at the outset to emphasize these fundamental differences between the old and new geographies if only because so many of those today in authority recall only the "geography" of their school-days and cannot be expected to regard with favour the introductions of such a subject in our Universities. The change of method and matter needs to be emphasized.

II. THE POSITION OF GEOGRAPHY IN MODERN STUDIES.

If we attempt to analyse the reasons for the present position of importance of a country—or it may be of a city such as Calcutta or a mere village—we shall find that the present state of affairs is the result of the action and interaction of three sets of factors. In the first place there are the *natural* or *geographical* factors—the fundamental advantages or disadvantages of position, natural resources, etc. In the

second place there are the *historical* factors with which we may include the political, for the politics of today will be history tomorrow. In the third place there are the *economic*, including the social, factors. If, in our attempt to interpret the position, we consider only one or two of these sets of factors and neglect the others we are liable, indeed we are almost certain, to fall into serious errors. Thus geographical studies take their natural place by the side of historical and economic studies in the interpretation of current events. They should serve, by keeping our feet firmly upon the earth, to supply the necessary balance. A short while ago in an examination for adult students—there were over 4,000 examinees, all over 21 years of age—I set a question concerning the former German colonies. Whilst everyone who attempted the question had quite made up his mind on the political or economic issues, apparently not a single one knew where the colonies were. This is a typical example of the danger of considering the political and economic factors without the geographical.

The economists sometimes say that progress in their subject is rendered difficult because everyone imagines he is a born economist. In somewhat the same way there seems to be an idea that anyone can be a geographer and anyone is competent to examine school children in the subject. Let us therefore try and negative this idea by examining the theory underlying the modern concepts.

III. SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

Perhaps the most fertile of the concepts of the geographer is that of the environment. Modern geography may, indeed, be defined as the study of the earth as the home of man and it involves the analysis of the environment, of the action and interaction of the geographical factors on the life of man and of the reciprocal reaction of man on his environment. We each of us live, whether as individuals or as nations, within an environment or environments which whilst influencing our life as a whole, can also be resolved into constituent parts. These are the geographical factors. When the influence of these was first fully realized the term 'geographical control' was introduced, suggesting that man was *controlled* by his environment. Whilst this may be practically true for certain primi-

tive peoples, 'influence' is a better word than 'control' for most circumstances. What are these geographical factors which influence the life of man?

The first is *position*—the unalterable factor of the position of our homes, our workplaces, our country on the face of the earth. The hour at which we rise, the time we spend travelling, indeed the ordering of a large part of our daily lives is determined by this factor of position. Similarly with a city—let us contrast Calcutta and Bombay—or with a country its position is an unalterable fact. Man may seek to overcome difficulties or disadvantages of position by his attempts to improve transport and communications but the influence remains. Some places are marked by position to be centres of human life and activities; others can scarcely be more than backwaters.

The second factor is that of *physiography* or *physical features*. If a country is mountainous by nature nothing that man can do can make it a plain. However much the activities of man may have done to make Calcutta the great city it is, it could scarcely have risen to the position of a premier port without the physical feature of the Hugli; on the other hand the very difficulties of communication (as between Calcutta and Howrah) are themselves the result of this physical feature. By building bridges and digging tunnels, by draining swamps and embanking rivers man may fight against physical features but his efforts are, after all, small. Thus the teacher of geography does well to start with the fundamentally important physical map.

The third factor is that of *geological structure* which makes its influence felt especially in the location of minerals and its indirect effect through soil. Man cannot find a coalfield where a coalfield has not already been provided by nature. Geological structure thus plays a large part in determining the natural resources of a country.

The fourth factor is that of *weather and climate*. The clothes which we wear from day to day reflect largely our personal reactions to weather conditions; the differences in house construction between England and India reflect particularly differences in climate. Umbrellas and irrigation, artificial heating and refrigeration are just some of man's attempts to counter climatic influences.

The fifth factor—*vegetation*—is really dependant on or closely connected with the last. Not only does climate determine the type of natural vegetation of a country but also the character of the crops

which can be grown by man—the agriculture. Though some heedlessly may try, the world's most powerful dictators cannot force the production of commodities which climatic conditions make impossible. The United States, in the temperate zone, depends on overseas supplies of rubber, coconuts and coffee. The great stretch of the Russian Republics is in the same position.

The sixth factor—*animal life*—has been partly overcome by man but the man is against the smaller creatures—the mosquito, the tsetse fly and even smaller creatures.

Within the circle made by this complex environment stands man—himself an animal but being distinguished from the other animals by his ability not only to take thought but, having thought, to take action against the environmental factors.

Another important geographical conception is that of the natural region—an area over the whole of which the environment is in a number of important particulars the same. It is now customary to regard the world as divided into about a dozen major natural or environmental regions. This concept has the practical importance that lessons learnt in one part of a region may be readily applied in other parts. This may be illustrated by the transference of rubber production from Brazil to India, Ceylon, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies—to other parts of the same great environmental region. The Canadian farmer is seeking to perfect varieties of wheat which will ripen in the brief northern summer of the Pease River region; if successful the results can immediately be applied to those parts of Siberia where similar conditions prevail.

Geography is not a study of static but of dynamic conditions. There is the constant need of recording facts as they are at a given time and in the recording of facts an essential tool is the map. It is not difficult to write an account of a country or industry which, whilst substantially accurate, may be too generalised or too vague to be of real value. It becomes of a different order of usefulness where description is supported on the one hand by statistics and on the other hand by facts recorded on maps. It is difficult to record vague ideas on a map and the map discipline of the geographer is often a severe one.

It may be urged that each of the geographical factors is already the subject of study of another science. But geography is the only one which considers the action or interaction of the whole.

IV. THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES.

We do well to apply the principles just enunciated in the first place to our own lives and our own homes. Hence the insistence on "local geography" at an early stage in educational programmes. If geography is divorced from immediate surroundings and happenings it is failing in its task. With the home area as a standard of comparison we are in a position to understand and appreciate conditions of life in other environments. Such balanced knowledge must lead to better international understanding. Further knowledge gained in such comparative studies enables a return to the consideration of the home area with a greater understanding.

So geography by focusing the light of well-reasoned knowledge on the interpretation of current affairs has an important part to play in the work of 'national planning' which is so much to the fore at present. It is significant that the State Planning authorities in the United States start inevitably with a geographical survey and draw their staffs so largely from the geographical schools of the Universities; it is interesting to record that the Royal Commission on the Geographical Location of Industry recently appointed in Britain includes the President of the Geographical Association amongst the Commissioners and called on the Royal Geographical Society for evidence. Amongst other tasks of a similar sort may be mentioned the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, in which the present use of every acre of England, Wales and Scotland has been recorded for the first time.

Detailed regional surveys are greatly needed in India and the university geographers have a great field open before them. It is gratifying to record the important pioneer work in this respect of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee who is to play such an important part in geographical studies in the University of Calcutta.

V. THE POSITION OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

Geography has not yet attained in India the position which it occupies in the other great countries of the world. One might cite the United States or France or Germany but it may suffice to refer to the position in Britain. There are full departments of Geography in practically every British University with full pass and honours and post-graduate courses. This is true of Oxford, Cambridge, Wales,

Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Durham, Newcastle, Reading, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen and applies also to the University colleges of Hull, Leicester, Nottingham, Exeter and Southampton. In the University of London there are Honours schools at university and King's colleges, the London School of Economics, Birkbeck, Bedford and Queen Mary colleges. Yet the growth is a recent one—coincident with the post-war realization of the importance of the study of international affairs. The first Honours examination in geography was held in London in 1921. The mere handful of students entered that year included my wife and myself. Today the number examined for honours alone runs into hundreds.

No students can enter for the B.Sc. (Econ.) or the B.Com. without a modicum of geography. The student must have his training in economics, history, geography and constitution side by side as an essential basis. Students from India often complain of the difficulty of obtaining entry to such colleges as the School of Economics. There at least is one answer—the neglect of a subject which from the British point of view is regarded as fundamental.

In conclusion a passing reference may be made to the position in the schools. There, in the absence of special university degree in geography "anybody" is regarded as fit to teach geography. What wonder if the teaching in the Primary school is poor, if the children are ill-prepared for the work of the middle and high schools. It is a vicious circle, with the university the weak or absent link.

The recent delegation of the British Association for the advancement of science to the Jubilee meeting of the Indian Science Congress gave point to the importance with which the university study of geography is regarded in Britain. The subject was represented by no less than eight delegates—Mr. McFarlane the grand old man of Geography from Aberdeen, Professor Ogilvie (Edinburgh), Professor Fleure, F.R.S. (Manchester), Mr. Kinzig (Birmingham), Professor Pawcett and L. D. Stamp (London-University College and London School of Economics), Professor Gordon (Physical Geography, King's College, London) and Dr. Howarth, the General Secretary of the British Association.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : FLEXIBLE OR RIGID ?

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I have read with great interest Lord Lothian's recent statement on the Government of India Act, 1935. He has taken considerable pains to show that the Federal structure as adumbrated in the Act of Parliament is, in spite of its admitted defects, acceptable, and he has further observed that the new constitution "far from being rigid and unalterable except by Parliament is in fact very flexible and fluid." Lord Lothian has characterized any opinion as to the rigidity of the constitution as "a very general misapprehension in India." But what are the facts on which he seeks to build up his theory? The Simon Commission plainly stated: "The first principle which we would lay down is that the new constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development. It should not lay down too rigid and uniform a plan, but should allow for natural growth and diversity.....It has been a characteristic of the evolution of responsible government in other parts of the British Empire that the details of the constitution have not been exhaustively defined in statutory language. On the contrary, the constitutions of the self-governing parts of the British Empire have developed as the result of natural growth." (Simon Report, Vol. II, para. 7) But in the Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform which were issued by the Conservative Government in 1933, we do not find any mention of this doctrine so eloquently expressed by the Simon Commission. Mr. C. R. Attlee in his speech on these proposals in the House of Commons on the 27th March, 1933, said: "The whole idea of Dominion Status entirely disappears from the White Paper even as the ultimate goal. The second thing which entirely disappears is any idea of a progressive advance to full responsible government. The Simon Commission, among other things, definitely laid it down that the constitution should contain within it the seeds of growth..... In the whole of the proposals there is no suggestion of growth. There is no suggestion that at any time, or on any occasion, will the

powers of the Governor-General be relaxed. There is no suggestion that at any time the power of the Secretary of State and of this House through the Secretary of State will be relaxed. There is no hint of time." (House of Commons Debates, 27th March, 1933, p. 723.) On the other hand, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, was anxious on that day to allay the apprehensions of the conservative members of the House of Commons by giving them the assurance that the "extremists" would not be able to obtain a dominating influence in the new Indian constitution. Let me quote his words: "I do not wish to make prophecies about the future, least of all the Indian future. But I would ask hon. Members to look very carefully at the proposals which we have made in the White Paper for the constitution of the Federal Legislature and of the Provincial Legislatures, and if they analyse those proposals, I think they will agree with me that it will be almost impossible, short of a landslide, for the extremists to get control of the federal centre. I believe that, to put it at the lowest, it will be extremely difficult for them to get a majority in a Province like Bengal." Yet, in the face of this pronouncement of Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Lothian in his recent statement asks us to believe that the "Congress will gain a majority of the British Indian seats, which will give it a leading place in the Ministry" at the Federal Centre. Now, whom are we to believe more—Sir Samuel Hoare, the architect of the new constitution, or Lord Lothian, the well-meaning and optimistic liberal statesman?

The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1934 in its introductory chapter discussed certain excellent principles of constitutional settlement and even stressed the need for flexibility in the new Indian constitution (para. 22). But in the body of the Report we find no vestige of this idea. Mr. F. S. Coombs in moving the labour amendment to the Government motion on the J. P. C. Report in the House of Commons on the 12th December, 1934, made it perfectly clear in his speech that the constitution which was actually sought to be introduced was not a flexible but a rigid constitution. He said: "The Scheme is a static plan, a rigid plan, a rather cast-iron plan, even perhaps almost a final plan. It does not contain within itself provision for its own development." (House of Commons Debates, 12th December, 1934, p. 407) Mr. C. R. Attlee also in his draft report laid before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the 18th June, 1934, pleaded "that the constitution itself should contain possibilities

of expansion and development, which may, without further Act of Parliament, realize this objective." But his draft report was not at all considered by the Committee. Even the Statutory Commission's recommendation that the Indian constitution should "contain some element of elasticity enabling adjustments to be made in accordance with the conditions actually obtaining in any given province at any particular time" to which Mr. Attlee tried to draw pointed attention, failed to carry weight with the majority of the members of the Committee. (J. P. C. Report, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 256-57)

But although the Indian Statutory Commission stressed the need for making "very full provision in the constitution for growth and development without the necessity of seeking new powers from the British Parliament," yet Sir Samuel Hoare in his Bill for the Government of India made no provision for the method of internal adjustment and growth. On the other hand, in his speech on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, on the 6th February, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare made it abundantly clear that the Indian constitution would be a rigid constitution. He said as follows: "This constitution is a rigid constitution and it can only be amended by future Acts of Parliament. It is rigid because of the peculiar conditions prevalent in India and because Parliament here would not be prepared to abandon its oversight of future changes." (House of Commons Debates, 6th February, 1935, p. 1187) Thus it is manifest from the language of the sponsor of the Bill himself that the constitution was meant to be rigid and inelastic and in its final shape it has remained rigid and inelastic. The author of the Bill was so very anxious to ensure the rigidity of the constitution that he introduced into the provisions of the Bill quite a new method of framing the Instruments of Instructions to the Governor-General and Provincial Governors. Hitherto such Instruments were regarded as the executive acts of the British Cabinet. They were issued as prerogative documents, but for the first time in the constitutional history of England, as Sir Samuel Hoare himself admitted in the House of Commons on the 6th February, 1935, the Draft Instructions were made to "receive the Parliamentary sanction of both Houses." Thus they became Parliamentary Documents, or rather definite matters of quasi-legislation. On a point of further information Sir Herbert Samuel asked: "Would any future Government be able to issue amended Instructions without the sanction of the House?" Sir Samuel Hoare replied:

"No, it would be necessary to have the sanction of both Houses." Mr. Churchill's intervention with the words—"Not for every Amendment?"—elicited the further reply of Sir Samuel Hoare: "Yes, for every future change."

This is a constitutional innovation of tremendous significance. The House of Lords up to this time was not permitted to have any control over administration. The Parliament Act, 1911, rendered the Lords impotent in matters of legislation. But Sections 13 and 53 of the Government of India Act, 1935, relating to the Instruments of Instructions have entrusted, as Mr. Winston Churchill pointed out very forcibly in his speech in the House of Commons on the 5th March, 1935, "a first rate function, one of the most responsible decisions, to the House of Lords without even the Parliamentary time limitation which was enforced by the Parliament Act thus reverting to the pre-Parliament Act situation." This was setting up the old unlimited veto of the House of Lords in a real form. Even Sir Samuel Hoare was forced to admit that a Resolution of the House of Commons seeking to make some changes in the Instructions was not subject to the Parliament Act. The Lords, therefore, would be perfectly at liberty to veto the proposals of the House of Commons again and again.

Mr. Morgan Jones was for dropping this revolutionary proposal in the British constitutional system. In moving his amendment to clause 13 of the Bill on the 5th March, 1935, he was perfectly frank when he said that the provisions with regard to the Instruments of Instructions would prevent any future Labour Government from making any alteration in the Indian constitution through amended Instructions. Proposals for change would be certainly and indefinitely held up by a majority in the House of Lords who would remain entirely unaffected by the electoral decision which might have placed the Labour Government itself in office. The statutory provisions regarding the Instruments of Instructions are, therefore, very significant and they raise very far-reaching constitutional issues.

It is also worthy of note that the Constitutions of the Dominions in the past have been developed from time to time by amending the prerogative Instruments of Instructions—not by altering the letters of the statutes. Those changes have been effected on the authority of the Government alone. No separate consent of Parliament has been thought to be necessary. But under the present Act, changes in the Letters of Instruction can only be made if they are laid before both

Houses of Parliament and passed by both Houses of Parliament by means of an Address. The future growth and development of the Indian constitution thus lies entirely in the hands of the House of Lords.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that with the passing of the Government of India Act 1935, the Government of India Act 1919, was repealed, but the Preamble of that Act remained. It is not very difficult to understand the real reason for making this specific exception from the repeal of the Act of 1919. The Preamble asserts in unqualified terms the powers of both Houses of Parliament to determine every step of Indian constitutional development, and therefore, the Government of 1935 was very anxious to put emphasis on the terms of the Preamble. But Indian political opinion has never become reconciled to the claims put forward in the Preamble on behalf of Parliament, and the "terminology is, of course," as the Right Hon. Wedgwood Benn has shown in an article in the *Political Quarterly* (July, 1937), "in contradiction of the idea that the new constitution should have some inherent power of growth, which was plainly stated by the Simon Commission." Further, it is necessary to point out that the words of the Preamble of the Act of 1919 are inconsistent with Dominion Status promised so solemnly by Lord Irwin on behalf of His Majesty's Government on the 31st October, 1929. They are entirely out of place in modern constitutional phraseology. They found place in the Act of 1919 seven years before the Imperial Conference of 1926 which for the first time made an attempt to define Dominion Status. It thus becomes abundantly clear that the new constitution does not "contain within itself provision for its own development."

Lord Lothian has observed that the new constitution of India is not rigid. On the other hand, he has said that "it is in fact very flexible and fluid." Now the chief merit of a flexible constitution, as Viscount Bryce pointed out in his classical essay on "Flexible and Rigid Constitutions," is that it "affords a means of preventing or minimizing revolutions by meeting them half-way.....A Flexible Constitution, however, being more easily and promptly alterable, and being usually a less firmly welded and cohesive structure, can bend without breaking, can be modified in such a way as to satisfy popular demands, can escape revolution by the practical submission of one of the contending forces in the particular dispute.....The knowledge that a constitution can be changed without any tremendous effort helps to make a party of

revolution less violent and a party of resistance less stubborn, disposing both to some compromise.....The constitution permits small reforms to be easily effected. The party of change, which would be a party of revolution if it was obliged to have large changes or none, is apt to be divided, and its more moderate section is, or soon passes into, a party only of reform." (Bryce: *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, pp. 173-75) One may feel inclined to enquire whether any of the above-mentioned merits of a flexible constitution can be said to belong to the new Indian Constitution which Lord Lothian has characterized as flexible and fluid.



THE EUGENIC POTENTIALITIES OF THE ALLEGED INFERIOR RACES AND CLASSES

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DEMOGRAPHERS and eugenicists are as a rule obsessed by the records of the races that have already contributed to the civilization of mankind. It is time for the quantitative and qualitative students of population to direct attention to the signs of new life such as are being exhibited by those peoples, groups or classes that have no tradition and no history. The mores and ideologies of the communities deserve to be examined in the futuristic no less than in the antiquarian and historical manner. Evidences of race-betterment and the rejuvenation of mankind are forthcoming from the exploits of many unknown clans, tribes, classes and societies. No study of population or progress with reference to the Indian and world conditions can be adequate which happens to remain blind to the intellectual, moral, aesthetic and social transformations going on among the rising races. In the slow but steady ascendancy of the unknown or ill-known classes, tribes, castes or groups the objective student of sociology may detect the discharge of many eugenic currents and agencies such as are well calculated to raise the physical, intellectual and spiritual values of the entire human race.¹

Many of the good or desirable biological stocks and strains remained unsuspected in the submerged and inconspicuous races and classes of the world. The humanitarian, philanthropic, social reform and statist activities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have enabled some of them to display their mettle and "fitness" in Eur-America. The evocation of eugenic forces by social means and methods is continuing its work still. The emergence of Japan as the parent of Young Asia, the rise of new nationalities in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as the birth of a regenerated Russia under Soviet auspices are some of the processes through which the depressed, re-

¹ B. K. Sarkar: "Le Sociologie Indoue aux débuts du capitalisme moderne" (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, November-December, 1926), and "Social Metabolism in its bearings on Progress" (*Social Forces*, Chapel Hill, U. S. A. December, 1937).

pressed and inferior of yesterday have been proving themselves to be the culture-bearers, civilizers and world-remakers of today. ² The same process has been going on in India since the Mohenjo-Daro times ; and at the present moment as in the past the culture-creating strains such as have remained hidden or unobserved in the biological make-up of the alleged lower classes, inferior castes and worthless communities are being provided with fresh opportunities by social, legal and political methods for getting themselves recognised in the eugenic planning of the Indian population.

During the present century the Bengali people has been witnessing a slow but steady transformation of a far-reaching character. It is possible to notice the beginnings of what may be described as a tremendous social revolution. In 1905 when we used to think of Bengal, we used as a rule to notice the literary, educational and political activities of the Hindus. In those days the Mussalman element was, generally speaking, very inconspicuous in public life. Today the Mussalman as a political factor is one of the most important constituents in Bengali society. In the great events of national importance a very significant part is played by the Mussalman men and women of Bengal. It may be said therefore that Bengali life today has been enormously enriched by the introduction of the Mussalman element in politics. Then, again, if we examine the schools and colleges not only of Calcutta but of the different districts and rural centres in our province it is patent that the academic life of Bengal has become Mussalmanized in considerable proportions. The Hindu is not today the monopolizing factor in primary, secondary, collegiate, medical, technical and other professional institutions. In Bengali literature also the contributions of the Mussalmans have of late been acquiring an importance whose value cannot be under-estimated. Among the most powerful poets, essayists, editors and journalists of Bengal a large number comes from the Mussalman side. It is well-known, besides, that in export and import, in retail trade and in some of the factories and other industrial concerns the Mussalman business organizers and directors are prominent personalities. Altogether, the Mussalman has succeeded in the course of the last generation to assert his claims to the development of the Bengali people along modern lines. The establishment of this fact should be

² I. Asahi: *The Secret of Japan's Trade Expansion* (Tokyo, 1934). *La Philosophie Technologique Contemporaine* (Paris, 1932). L. L. LORWIN: "The Present Phase of Economic and Social Development in the U. S. S. R." *International Labour Review*, Geneva, January, 1936.

regarded in the estimation of publicists, patriots, social workers as well as economists, eugenicists and sociologists as a great social event.

We may now turn our eyes to some other corners of Bengali society. There was a time, even thirty years ago, and of course, half a century ago by all means, when the leading men of Bengal were known as Banerjees, Chatterjees, Ghoses, Sen-Guptas and so on. In the course of the last few decades it is very interesting to watch how the very family titles of prominent persons have become multiform and diverse. If we analyze the list of members in any public organization in any subdivision of the districts of Bengal we notice that it is very often difficult to guess from the family titles the exact caste or social grade of the persons. The same diversity and heterogeneity of family titles will be detected in the registers of elementary, secondary, collegiate and other educational institutions. In one word, the self-conscious and expressive section of the Bengali people of today is not a community primarily of Brahmans, Kayasthas and Vaidyas. These castes are not monopolising the cultural, political and economic functions of Bengal. The "thousand and one" castes of the Bengali Hindu society have risen into prominence and the value of their contributions in every sphere are so great that there is hardly anybody who cares at all to enquire into the caste of the person to whom Bengal owes one or other form and one or other item of her greatness. We might analyze the situation deeper and see how the social structure of Bengal has been on the way to a radical change owing to the introduction of some distinctively new features.

The contributions to the wealth and social economy of Bengal may be examined from the side of what for want of a better term can be described as the "aboriginal" tribes or races. There are reasons to believe that in virtually every district of Bengal and especially in the border districts the non-Hindu and to a certain extent non-Bengali races are becoming absorbed in the general mass of the Bengali community. The Santals are well-known. This race is today occupying many of the productive agricultural regions in the districts of West and North Bengal. For the present they are engaged chiefly in the work of cultivation but some of the more modest arts and handicrafts are also being cultivated by them. The Rajbanshis of North Bengal, although not of the same category, may be described as another race that has been slowly but steadily entering the Bengali Hindu society at the thin end of the wedge.

It is not necessary to enumerate all the different ethnic stocks which, whether 100 p. c. non-Bengali or partially non-Bengali, have been more or less gaining a solid footing in the nooks and corners and even in the highways of Bengali life. Their activities are not confined to agricultural and primitive industries as well as manual labour, cultivation, mining or factory. There are some cases of trading and shop-keeping functions being discharged by these heterogeneous "non-Bengali" races. The intrusion of these new racial elements is a very stupendous fact in the social economy of Bengal. It is to be understood, besides, that the participation of these different races in the economic life of the Bengali people is helping them by degrees, first, to acquire mastery over the Bengali language, and secondly, to assimilate domestic rites and ceremonies, manners and customs, social etiquettes, etc., of the Bengali people. Many of them are getting Hinduized. But on the other hand, the general mass of the Bengali people also is being powerfully influenced in diverse items by the introduction of these new racial factors. One can say that Bengal has really been experiencing an expansion in her economic and cultural activities. We have today a veritable "Greater Bengal" within the geographical boundaries of Bengal.

When we consider the actual developments of the last three decades from the standpoint of the men and women who have been actually functioning as creators of economic, social and political values, we are surprised to discover to what a great extent the populational structure of the Bengali people has become democratized. The Bengali people of to-day is not what it was in 1905 and certainly not what it was at the time when the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. A rather radical and extreme statement may be hazarded in this connection. The very flesh and blood of the men and women, that is, the physical and physiognomical features of the Bengali people who are playing an active part in contemporary life are perhaps to a certain extent tending to be different from those of the fathers and grand-fathers of the nationalist and progressist movements. The phrases such as "the wealth of nationalist Bengal," "the contributions of Bengal," "Bengali public life," "Bengali culture," "Bengali economic activities," "economic and political Bengal," etc., mean today far different things from the same categories as used by some distinguished lawyer or publicist in the early years of the present century. In those days, from his own private

office room in a certain district town he used to wire to a leader or to a leading daily of Calcutta, "The entire district is with you or behind you." In those days the self-conscious and creative sections of the Bengali people were indeed so homogeneous in character or rather microscopic in dimension as to be patriarchally represented or bossed in this manner.

Today there is no individual and of course no institution anywhere in any district of Bengal that would dare make statements like the above in regard to some questions of public importance. The situation is today quite heterogeneous, multiform and pluralistic. Those of our countrymen who have discovered for themselves that, populationally speaking, in its very physical make-up Bengal is a thoroughly new phenomenon not to be comprehended in terms of the demographic basis of a generation ago, will be in a position to comprehend the problems of young Bengal during the next decade. The next three, five, seven or ten years of the Bengali people can be managed only by those of our publicists and scholars who possess no vagueness about the fact of a racial, caste or religious expansion of the Bengali people. Once this societal transformation of the Bengali people has been recognized as the foundation of our national policy for today and tomorrow, shall we be in a position to eschew many of the conventional doctrines of social service and patriotism. The new orientations in our economic policy and, what is more important, in political philosophy can be acquired only by those who are thoroughly convinced of the radical transformation that has been going on in the populational structure of our country. The Mundas, Oraons and Santals, today are as good Hindus as the conventional Hindus of yesterday. Today the Bagdis, Bauris and the other alleged lower castes have been exerting an influence on the societal economy no less striking than do the alleged superior castes. Last but not least, the Mussalmans on account of their cultural as well as other activities have been growing into good and valuable Bengalis like the Hindus who but a short time ago happened almost to be exclusively responsible for the creative achievements and other forms of energism in the public and cultural life of Bengal.

These discoveries in the domain of Bengal's populational structure should induce us to get prepared for certain discoveries in other domains. It is time for us to examine objectively some of the experiences that the Bengalis have picked up during the last generation in

the course of contacts with the different racial, linguistic and religious elements in the population. Those nationalists who have been serving the working classes as promoters or organizers of trade-unions can certainly help us with the results of some of their discoveries in this regard. The inspectors who are officially connected with the co-operative credit movement among the peasant classes are also in a position to enrich us with reports about what they have discovered in the character and aptitude of the families with which they have had to come into contact. The activities of the Hindu Mission workers as well as of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Mission and other social service propagandists who in one way or other are connected with the untouchables or other classes will also serve to throw light on the personal qualifications of those men and women whose lives as a rule have lain beyond the grasp and imagination of literary men, artists, educators, journalists and patriots. It should appear that the railway coolies, plantation labourers, mine-workers, factory labourers, peasants, in other words, those occupational classes which constitute the majority of the "gainfully employed" population,—the "Masses,"—who have so long remained submerged in the Bengali society do not necessarily possess an intelligence and moral character inferior to those of the persons who academically, professionally and economically belong to the upper ten thousand.

From the standpoints of "arithmics" and eugenics this is one of the greatest discoveries in regard to the social make-up of the Bengali people. Let us be perfectly clear. We are speaking here of those men and women who happen to be "unlettered,"—*i. e.*, of the 89% of the entire population. It is to be noted that we are not using the word "uneducated." By the category, "unlettered," is to be understood a person who cannot read and write. The distinction we make here is of profound significance in regard to the appraisal of human "values." A man who is unable to read and write is not necessarily uneducated or uncultured. Literacy is an essentially modern phenomenon, but culture and education have been going on in the human race for thousands of years. There were millions of cultured and educated men and women during the primitive, ancient and mediæval epochs of history even in those regions and among those races where reading and writing were unknown. In other words, human intelligence is not as a rule dependent very much on book-learning and school-going. The natural intelligence as well as practical experience of the teeming

millions among the illiterates of Bengal are, therefore, very valuable intellectual assets. The cultivators, the blacksmiths, the spinners, the weavers, the potters, the basket-makers, the *mistris* (mechanicians), the *gharamis* (cottage-builders), the boatmen and sailors, etc., of Bengal possess an intelligence which has been sharpened by the practice and traditional experience of ages, and in this intelligence and experience they are equal to the Japanese, Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, English, and Americans. Class for class, the Bengali *mistris*, carpenters and other hand-workers as well as the cultivators of Bengal can challenge competition with their comrades of any nationality on the surface of the earth in regard to natural intelligence and mother-wit independent of machinery and tools.

We may now institute a comparison of these illiterates with those who have acquired "education" in schools and colleges. In other words, let us compare the peasants and mechanics of Bengal with the schoolmasters, lawyers, deputy-magistrates, doctors, journalists and political leaders. There is hardly anybody among the so-called educated classes who would venture to assert that as intelligent persons, that is, as men and women of common sense, the cultivators and *mistris* do not understand the problems of their daily life, their family requirements, their village surroundings in the same way as do the schoolmasters, lawyers, *Swadeshi*-preachers, and so on. Those who know the illiterates intimately admit, as a rule, that the fact of being ignorant in regard to reading and writing does not render them incapable of comprehending the interests of themselves, their families as well as their neighbours. On the other hand, it is also necessary to observe that a schoolmaster, a lawyer or a doctor is after all an expert in one, two or three things of life. These alleged "educated" persons can claim proficiency only in a very limited sphere of interests. The doctor is not an authority in problems connected with engineering, the engineer in questions involving a knowledge of botany, the chemist in questions of astronomy, and so on. The highest that one can possibly claim for these intellectual classes is that some one is a specialist in a particular line and a certain person in another.

Now, agriculture is also a profession of very great importance.³ The men and women therefore who are experts in agriculture, that is,

³ With the position taken here may be compared the attitudes regarding agriculture summarised by Sorokin, Zimmerman and Guépin in *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. I (Minnesota, 1930), pp. 145-145.

the illiterate cultivators, therefore, deserve the same consideration from the other members of the community as a lawyer does from the engineer and an astronomer from the chemist. Professions are to be respected as professions. The agricultural profession does not demand less intelligence, less dexterity, less shrewdness, less commonsense, less organizing ability than do the so-called learned professions. The same remarks hold good in regard to the profession of the blacksmith, weaver, potter and so on. The *mistri*, the cultivator and others in the so-called manual professions are as educated and cultured, although unable to read and write, as are the lawyers, doctors and the professors. We are prepared to go a step beyond and assert that as a "moral person," that is, as one who as a free agent discharges the duty of his life in regard to himself, his family and his neighbours, the lawyer, the doctor or the professor is not necessarily superior to the *chashi*, coolie, *majur*, *mistri* and all other manual workers. Let the members of the so-called "educated class" place their hands on their breasts and compare their character as sons and daughters, as parents, as uncles or aunts, as guardians, as nephews and nieces with those of the cultivators, factory workers, and handicraftsmen. It is impossible to demonstrate that the peasant as a class in his moral obligations and sense of duty towards relatives and kinsfolk as well as to the neighbours, lives on a lower plane than members of the so-called educated class. In regard to other functions of moral life also we can institute a comparison and the conclusion will be forced on us that in regard to the activities involving money matters, the factory director and others do not as a rule enjoy an enviable position such as might give points to the members of the unlettered classes. We can take other items of private and public morality and we shall find that in criminal statistics, the *chashi*, the *mistri* and the *majur* do not figure oftener and in larger numbers, proportionally speaking, than do the men and women of the so-called superior classes.

These discoveries, based on the experience of a very large number of public workers and scholars, lead inevitably to the proposition that the illiterate is not a person who deserves to be differentiated from the so-called educated as an intellectual and moral being. And on the strength of this discovery we are prepared to formulate a doctrine which should counteract the superstition that has been propagated in Eur-America and later in Asia as well as, of course, in India to the effect that literacy should be the basis of political suffrage. Our obser-

vations entitle us to the creed that political suffrage should have nothing to do with literacy. The illiterate has a right to political life and privilege simply because of the sheer fact that as a normal human being he has factually demonstrated his intellectual strength and moral or civic sense. The rights of the illiterate ought to constitute in social psychology the foundation of a new democracy. A universal suffrage independent of all considerations as to school-going, ability to read and write, or other tests should be the very first postulate of social economics. Those of our countrymen who are equipping themselves for the task of conducting the movements of the Bengali people have been somewhat disabusing their minds of the pretensions of schools and colleges in regard to their contributions to political preparedness. It is because the claims of the intellectual ability as well as of the moral worth of the millions of unlettered men and women of Bengal are being objectively considered and appraised in a proper manner that the Bengali people has been successful,—to a certain extent unconsciously perhaps,—in opening a new creative chapter—although as yet not prominent—in the history of its societal energism. Slowly but steadily these new orientations and evaluations are embodying themselves in unprecedented metabolistic urges.

For the time being it is not easy to contribute to the solution of the legal questions bearing on the definition of the "scheduled castes." Nor is it always possible to suggest to the party leaders the ways and means of bringing about solidarity between the classes, castes, creeds and communities. The thought that is uppermost in a scientific study of population questions with reference to qualitative improvement is of a non-legal, non-political and non-party character. Our observations may be offered as hints for further and intensive investigation to the students of economic and cultural expansion as well as to all those inquirers who are interested in the facts and theories of progress.

The non-higher castes, scheduled or unscheduled, subject, as they are, to varying doses of repression, have begun to rise. It is time for the alleged higher castes,—the Brahman-Kayastha-Vaidya-complex,—to approach the problems of this rise with new heads and new hearts. The Brahmanocracy of today will have to get oriented to a new order of social facts and developments and prepare the way for a new Brahmanocracy *i.e.*, a new regime of social, cultural and socio-political *élites*.

There is a tendency in certain quarters of Bengal to rest assured that there are no "depressed classes" in Bengali society. It is necessary, therefore, to observe at the outset that every human being who for one reason or other feels that he is being discriminated against because of birth is a depressed creature. Whatever be the law, whatever be the schedule, whatever be the tradition, and whoever be the makers of the law, the schedule and the tradition, the fact of discrimination is a moral and spiritual grievance of the highest order. And everybody who feels aggrieved belongs to the depressed.

The anthropological verdict of world-culture is positive. The lower race or class of today has turned out to be the superior race or class of tomorrow. The decline and fall of the high has not implied the decline and fall of civilization.

Even if all the Hindu seats in the Council and the Assembly, then, were made over to or independently captured by those who belong to the non-higher castes, nay, to be very extreme and ultra-radical, even if the few millions belonging to the alleged higher castes were to be physically extinct,—an assumption, of course, which it is impossible to realise except perhaps through discriminative and differential geological catastrophes,—the culture and wealth of Bengal would not be endangered but continue to flourish. Our position in regard to race or class extinctions is the exact antipodes to the attitude embodied in Lapouge's *Les Sélections Sociales* and Ammon's *Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürliche Grundlagen* (Social Order and its Natural Foundations). In a reasonable way of looking at things there should be no room for economic, political, social or cultural scares of any sort as regards the consequences of an eventual predominance of the "scheduled" and other "depressed" classes. It is utterly unscientific to assume a *catagenic* or *dyrogenic* predominance in the upheaval of the alleged lower castes or classes.

The "communal award" of Moon, Yajnavalkya, Raghunandana and others had sanctioned the disfranchisement of the teeming millions of the population. The culture-bearing stocks and strains of the hydra-headed multitude were generally overlooked by those lawgivers, as they are being overlooked even today by the radical eugenicists of contemporary Eur-America.⁴ But under the regime of new legal institutions and economic transformations in recent times

⁴ See the section on pseudo-biological eugenics in H. E. Barnes: *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York 1935), pp. 923-964.

certain individuals belonging to those disfranchised classes of centuries have succeeded in demonstrating to the world that they are capable of being at a par with individuals of the privileged classes in brain, character and self-sacrifice. The eugenic postulates, hypotheses, axioms and foundations of the new social order may therefore not turn out to be less fruitful and creative than those of the old.

Literacy has been spreading and is going to spread if not adequately, at any rate, to some extent among all the castes and classes in the near future. This expansion is sure to influence the college and the University atmosphere. The achievements of the "non-higher" castes in the arts and sciences are tending to acquire larger and larger proportions. Their impact on the Government services, legal profession and clerical jobs in mercantile firms and railways and other offices is also to be taken for granted. These traditional avenues to cultural, political and social advance belong to every system of reconstruction as a matter of course.

Among the social processes such as are likely to call forth the play of eugenic forces and the assertion of good biological stocks and strains among the poorer and lower classes or castes in the next generation may be mentioned likewise the economic betterment and the elevation of the standard of living which the Government expenditure of Rs. 1,500,000 on rural reconstruction (Rs. 10,000,000 for All-India) is expected to promote. The establishment of Union Board dispensaries, the improvement of rural water supply, drainage and flushing schemes, the establishment of seed and crop demonstration centres, the introduction of agricultural training in certain secondary schools, the provision for village libraries, and plans for the marketing of jute and paddy,—all these socio-economic, "socialistic" and statist measures envisaged in the programme of 1936 affecting as they do the physique and *mores* as well as surroundings of the unknown or ill-known races and classes should not be treated by sociologists as exclusively "environmental" or "social" in their bearings. It is through the setting up of such environmental conditions and social institutions and machineries that the biogenetic forces are going to be generated for the progress of the teeming millions. In regard to India as to other countries the student of social science is called upon to admit once more the great reality that factual socialism and positive or constitutional democracy are two of the most profound eugenic agencies in the destiny of mankind.

The Brahmanocracy of old, as established by Manu and his predecessors and successors, was based on twofold foundations: *Janma* or birth was only one of the foundations of that social polity. The other foundation was *samskara*, "initiation," education, nurture, etc. It is erroneous to ascribe a birth-monism or deterministic heredity-cult to Manu and his peers, coming as they did down from the sociologists of the *Taittiriya Samhita* and the *Adarvya Brahmana*. The theory of that social philosophy and societal organization was essentially right. That theory has worked well not only in India but virtually in entire Asia and Eur-America as well.² Today also that philosophy and that organization are pragmatically found to be working well, on the whole. Only, Manu requires to be modified and expanded. The facts of military and economic history as well as migrations from district to district and province to province as well as continent to continent have gone on modifying and expanding Manu through the ages; often unconsciously, of course, both in the East and the West. At the present moment what is urgently needed is a conscious and deliberate modification and expansion of Manu to suit the incorporation and assimilation of myriads of untried and half-tried groups of men and women. It is this enlargement of Manu that is being consummated through social idealism, political franchise, educational expansion and economic planning such as are embodied in the diverse efforts of what may be called the "new Brahmanocracy." Eugenics has found powerful allies in the *Swadestie* movement, nationalistic activity, socialism and, curiously enough, even communal award. The detection of sound eugenistic forces in these and allied measures ought to be appraised as a great achievement of contemporary sociology and demography.

* C. H. Cooley : *Social Process* (New York, 1918), pp. 197-211.

POLITICS AND MUSLIM STUDENTS

HUMAYUN KABIR

I should at the outset like to convey to the organisers of this All India Muslim Students Conference my very deep and sincere appreciation of the honour they have done me by asking me to preside over their deliberations at this critical juncture in the history of the country. I am fully aware that there are many whose claims to this distinction are far greater than mine, and nobody can be more acutely conscious than myself that it was not and could not be personal considerations alone that are responsible for my being in the position in which I find myself today. I take it that your selection is in a sense symbolic and in conferring upon me this honour, you have sought to express your recognition of certain forces and ideals that are silently working for the transformation of our economic, political and social outlook.

This is essentially a problem of the young, of those whose life is still before them to make of it what they can, and I accepted your invitation to preside over the deliberations here in that spirit. It is as a representative of the youth of the community and the country and not in my mere personal capacity that I am here today, and it shall be my earnest aim and endeavour to voice in my words your hopes and aspirations, your problems and difficulties, and your solutions and your faith.

I want therefore to speak to you as one of you, as one who not so very long ago was a student like all of you and has not yet had the time—and I hope shall never have the desire—to forget what it is to be a student. If therefore some of the things that I say may seem unwelcome or unacceptable, I would only urge upon you to accept them in the spirit in which they are offered and I shall consider my task completed if I can induce in at least some of you some of the questionings which have so often troubled my own equanimity.

The problem which dwarfs to relative insignificance all other problems in India is the problem of Independence. The more I think about it, the more acutely I feel that the settlement of all our difficulties is concentrated in the solution of this one stupendous problem. Poverty can be fought only if the machinery of the State is controlled

in the interests of the community and the development of trades and industries is best achieved through the employment of political power for the purposes of national reconstruction of society. But this also makes it clear that the problem is not one of political freedom alone, it is one of economic and social freedom as well. If the British should decide to transfer the administrative machinery of the country to the control of a handful of the Indian intelligentsia, would it be freedom in the true sense of the term? Some—specially of the privileged classes, would probably hail it as the dawn of a new political era, but would it necessarily solve the problem of our hungry millions, of the masses who have lived in degradation and deprivation even in the ages when political power was wielded by men of our own race or nationality? If the history of Europe during the last hundred years has taught us anything, it has taught us that political liberty apart from economic justice has little or no meaning, and that is why in Europe of today, the cult of unrestricted individualism and personal liberty is seeking its fulfilment in the concept of social control and economic justice. That is why today in all countries of the West, the State claims and exercises influence in every sphere of social life, determines the conditions that shall govern the relation of capital and labour and even prescribes the law under which wealth can be produced and utilised.

Without economic and social freedom, political liberty therefore has little content and yet on the other hand, political liberty is the basis of economic and social freedom. Political liberty seeks its fulfilment in economic equality and these jointly lead to the realisation of social justice and freedom. That is why our first objective must be the achievement of political liberty; that objective realised, a series of new possibilities will be revealed to us, but till that has been achieved, all our visions must remain the idle dreams of a mere visionary.

Political freedom is therefore the first objective of all our endeavours and yet some may suggest that even if it be so, a student conference is hardly the occasion for formulating it. But I would put only one or two questions to such doubters. Are discussions about the system of education obtaining in our country a proper question for a student conference? If it is, can we talk of educational reform without the idea of carrying out such reforms at least in the background of our minds? And can we think of reforms except in reference to political power through which they may be realised?

Take again the spectre of unemployment which is sapping the vitality and undermining the confidence of so many of our young men. Shall that question be taken up in a student conference? Can we raise the question of social utilisation and service of young men without bringing in its train hundreds of questions about the structure of the State or of the organisation of the social framework? And suppose we take up the question of educated unemployment. Can we rest content there without bringing in questions of the unemployment among the masses, in a word, without bringing in the problem of poverty and hunger, and what is that if not a political question?

Politics cannot therefore be avoided by students even if we would, and perhaps on deeper considerations, we should not even if we could. Politics is the reflection of the organised life of society, and without some political training, our education remains one-sided and incomplete. May we not see the reasons for our political immaturity and fickleness in the fact that as students—within the narrower confines of student life—we lacked the opportunity or the inclination or both of acquiring political experience?

What I have so far said applies generally to all students, but it has special application in the case of Mussalman students in India. There is no denying that the history of the last 100 or 150 years is for Indian Mussalmans history of degradation and deterioration. Loss of political power was followed by the loss of spiritual resilience, and for almost a century, Muslim India contented itself in dreaming of the glories of the past without any attempt to analyse the causes of its discomfiture, or acquire the new technique which enabled others to triumph over it. The policy of utter non-co-operation which Muslim India followed was no doubt natural, and perhaps even unavoidable, but it was not wise. For, the heritage of self-centredness and defeatism which it left behind has been fraught with the gravest consequences for the political fate of not only Indian Muslims, but of India as a whole.

Leaders who were brought up in that atmosphere could not perhaps help reflecting the mentality of that age. They looked at the world with defeatist eyes, without confidence in their own power to defend themselves. That is why almost all our older leaders speak only in terms of safeguards and reservation, of special treatment and concessions, of pacts and guarantees, of careful avoidance of all risk, and frantically endeavour to cling to the little that has been saved from

the general ruin. That is why, it seems to me, a political leader of the undoubted capacity and individual courage of Mr. Jinnah dare not accept for the community the rough and tumble of free competition, but must for ever advise it to avoid the risks of political struggle till we have first become strong. It is on this point that I should like to offer a few comments and contend that, even if we accept their general premises and desire the protection of the special interests of the community, the methods which they advocate are not suited to those ends—in fact, are bound to lead to the defeat of the very purposes which they profess.

We are told that Muslims must have separate organisations in order to become strong, but we are not told how separate organisations of themselves can make a community strong. Can we acquire strength if we remain outside the political struggle and enjoy the privileges which a harassed Imperialism may offer us in an attempt to buy us off? Can we acquire strength unless we pull our weight in the national struggle, and through sacrifice, through the power of suffering, regenerate the community? Power without the power of sacrifice is a vain delusion, and Indian Mussalmans must realise that there is no other short cut to political resurrection.

Can even pacts or promises guarantee us our security, though I don't deny that for some time, such pacts may under certain conditions be useful in creating a better atmosphere. But what after all is a pact or treaty worth? Have we not seen time and again in the history of the world that treaties have been treated like the merest scrap of paper by those who could violate it with impunity? Shall not those who still hunger for a pact with Hindus or others realise that such pacts are of use only so long as a third party is there to guarantee their observance? Let the third party go and who shall compel the observance of the pact? And if on the contrary, the Mussalmans are strong enough to enforce such pacts, do they need them at all?

Therefore those who think of pacts are really thinking in terms of the indefinite continuation of British domination over India. This may be natural to men who were brought up in the atmosphere of defeatism of the last century, but shall the young men of this century, shall the present generation who were born in the midst of the struggle for national emancipation allow the dead weight of the past to crush their new awakening to life? And to those who say that we should not join in the national struggle without a settlement

with the Hindus, I would put only one question—Is the freedom of India the objective of Hindus alone? Have we not an equal claim and an equal yearning for it? Shall it not be our privilege to bring Indian freedom nearer than it has been?

When the British came to India, we Muslims, non-co-operated with the education and the science they brought. The result is we are today at least half a century behind the others in prosperity and power. Shall we commit the same blunder again and again non-co-operate with this national struggle only to wake up belatedly and find that we are again half a century behind in the power of sacrifice, in endurance and in courage of suffering?

One thing I have never understood is the failure of so many of our Muslim leaders to realise that power is entirely a question of mental outlook and spiritual integrity. They often complain that we are a minority community, and must obtain the special considerations to which minorities are entitled. But is it really proper for a community of 80 millions to sap its own strength by continual disbelief in its own power? Let alone 80 millions,—even 6 millions of men, provided they have courage and determination, constitute a proposition before which the mightiest power shall quail. Why should we forget that the days of Muslim glory were the days when Mussalmans were everywhere in a minority? Why do we forget that the British who dominate us today are in number insignificant when compared to us? Why do we forget that even under British domination, the influence of the Hindus in Bengal is the influence of a minority over a majority?

You who are the symbol of the youth of Muslim India must therefore forget that you are a minority, must forget what has been continually drilled into your ears and repudiate the idea that you are weak or incapable. You must today regain your own self-confidence and declare in unmistakable terms that weak we are not, on others we shall not depend, but shall carve our own destinies by our own endeavours. I would once again have you reiterate that we are not afraid, we are not incapable; it is only weak and short-sighted leadership that has weakened us, blinded us and made us diffident and hesitating before the play of world forces.

I have tried to argue that these elder leaders were for historic reasons bound to look at things from the point of view of a defeatist mentality—their outlook was the outlook of the last century with its

discouragements, its failures and its despair, but you who have been born into a new India of a new century, it is for you to declare that the defeats and distresses of the past have no meaning for you—for you the reality is the expansion of the Indian mind, of its continual endeavour after freedom and light; already you have in your hearts the foretaste of victory and achievement. From this vantage ground of national regeneration, you must declare that those who label as weak the youth of the community are doing the greatest possible disservice to the community and the country.

Nor is this all. Those leaders who look at things from the defeatist point of view of the last century and urge that we must get strong before we should stand shoulder to shoulder with others in the fight for freedom, forget that even if this were possible, where is the time? We have already seen that it is impossible to become strong by standing aloof, we have already seen that the source of power is in the mind's freedom and courage, in its ability to defy overwhelming might with its solitary strength. But even if pacts and safeguards could make us strong, where is the time for it? How can we forget that India forms only a part of a world system and must therefore react to every movement of the world. Is it not clear that the world is heading towards a crisis with irresistible might, and any moment there may be an explosion that will rock our political structures to their very depths? How can one, in this world gone mad, even for a moment dream that we shall be allowed the leisure to gain strength through pacts and partitions with other communities under the common protection of a foreign power?

Those of our leaders who dream that under the protection of a third party they will come to terms with the other communities of India, seem to exhibit an amazing lack of sense of realities, for if the crisis in Europe becomes acute, will the British think for a moment about Muslim interests? Shall we forget what happened to Britain when the Romans abandoned them to their fate? Cannot our leaders wake to the conscious need that the force of events may compel the British to abandon India, and much sooner than any of us imagine today? Any moment there may be a conflagration in the East or the West: where shall the British turn in the moment of stress? To those who dream of achieving strength in the future, or to those who through sacrifice and struggle, through conflict and suffering have won

confidence in themselves and are ready to face the might of British Imperialism?

Where is the place for a communal organisation in this picture? And least of all for a communal organisation of the students? Communal interest is a term that is freely bandied about, but if we pause to consider it coolly, whose interest are we thinking of? The vast majority of India's toiling masses—irrespective of their religious or communal loyalties—suffer from hunger and poverty. Their sole cry is for more food and cloth, for the barest necessities of life, for the recognition of their claim to the minimum human standards. Is there any conflict of interest among them? If agricultural prices go up, they rejoice equally—a slump is equally disastrous for both the Muslim and the Hindu peasants. Better sanitation and better irrigation are their common demands. The conflict of interest is therefore only among the aristocracy, the middle classes and the intelligentsia, for those who share the good things of life. That is why there is talk of sharing the posts and offices in the State, that is why there is such clamour on both sides for weightage in representation and political power. Shall we as young men make this realisation of our selfish ends the sole objective of all our activity? The student community of the country are therefore faced with two alternatives:—the satisfaction of the self interest of a few individuals through communal organisations and pacts, or the endeavour to realise our common humanity in an attempt to reconstruct society in the interest of the masses who have till now in history been always deluded and oppressed. Shall we choose our personal ends, or shall we choose the impersonal good which will enrich our life through the creation of new social values and new social standards?

One fact we must not forget. How far can communal organisations and pacts carry us? Is it possible to find jobs for every individual without thorough revision of the principles on which society is based? Would there have been unemployment in England or Germany if the present social structure could find employment for every member of society? And if England and Germany fail, what chance is there of success in India? How many jobs can the State create? For every man who gets a job, ninety-nine must suffer disappointment. Shall the student community of India hanker after personal gains that are at best uncertain and elusive, and sacrifice the interests of the suffering millions of the land?

This is the crux of the problem about a communal organisation for students. Our national life is torn by a hundred dissensions—a hundred conflicts of personal interests obscure our vision, but among the youth of the country, among the students of India, there must be the idealism and the courage that can rise above the petty personal point of view and encompass a vision that comprehends the interests of all. The students of India must rise above their personal or their class interests and work for the emancipation of their motherland. They themselves come largely from the middle classes, and perhaps for some of them, the communal conflicts may mean personal gain, but we have already seen the futility to which such personal self-seeking is bound to lead. It is the youth of the world that has always responded to the challenge of an ideal and the youth of India—particularly the Muslim young men of India—must today accept that challenge of history.

Muslim students of today must therefore stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers of other countries and communities in solving the common problem of the world. They must examine the shortcomings and failures of our history and work in the clear light of reason, as a disciplined force, for the realisation of our India of dreams. Even today, the civilisation of India is neither Hindu nor Muslim, for the two strands of their contribution are mixed up inextricably together. It is therefore foolish for Hindus to boast of it as only theirs; it is stupid for Muslims to try to stigm it as something alien. But what the students of today—Hindus and Muslims—must realise is that the construction of that civilisation has hardly begun—it is their duty and their privilege to bring it to a complete fruition. The struggle for political liberty is only the first step in that endeavour,—and that first step shall not be taken till the students of India, irrespective of creed, community or province, pledge themselves to one common solidarity and one common brotherhood.¹

¹ Presidential Address at the All India Muslim Students Conference, Calcutta, 27th and 28th December, 1937.

VINERIAN PROFESSOR OF LAW IN CALCUTTA

DR. S. C. BAGCHI'S SPEECH AT THE ANANTOSH HALL

IN proposing a vote of thanks to Sir William Holdsworth, the Tagore Professor of Law, Dr. Bagchi said, "Sir William Holdsworth, gentlemen, my colleagues and students of the University—The other day Sir Maurice Gwyer wrote to me, 'You will, I am sure, have been delighted to welcome my friend Sir William Holdsworth among you.' Yes, we are glad, we are delighted, we are much too delighted in having the occupant of Blackstone's chair amongst us this evening. Some time back Sir Anantosh Mookerjee, the prince of Vice-Chancellors, was instrumental in bringing over another Oxford Professor—Professor Vinogradoff, to Calcutta as a Reader in Law, and this time Sir Anantosh's gifted son the present Vice-Chancellor is responsible for the presence of Sir William Holdsworth here. Oxford's temporary loss has resulted in a permanent gain to Calcutta.

While I was listening to the delightful lectures just completed this evening my mind travelled back to the time when I was attending Professor Maitland's lectures at Cambridge. Had Professor Maitland not been alive when Sir William was lecturing at Oxford I, a believer in the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, would have quoted with a little variation the dedicatory lines of Tennyson in Demeter and Persephone where addressing Sir Richard Jebb the famous Cambridge Grecian, Tennyson writes—

"Fair things are slow to fade away,
Bear witness you that yesterday
Out of the soul of Pindar in you
There rolled an Olympic."

The variations are obvious, for Pindar read Maitland, for Olympic read a discourse on Makers of English Law, for Professor Holdsworth has the magic touch of Maitland that can make dry bones live. The course that we have attended is after the manner of Sainte-Beuve's, *Causeries* and Selden's *Table Talk*. These lectures demonstrate how

history humanises law. For, in the words of a great French jurist, Prof. Saleilles of Sorbonne 'Le lois n'est pas un musée d'art, c'est une représentation de la vie—law is not a museum of art, it is a representation of life.

Sir William could easily have extended the lectures from twelve to twelve times twelve. But that is not necessary as with his noble array of volumes on the History of English Law, which, as I understand, will total up to one dozen, Sir William can justly say like Horace, 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius'—I have raised a monument more lasting than brass.

I call for a hearty vote of thanks expressing our gratitude to Sir William Holdsworth, the Vinerian Professor of Law at Oxford and the Tagore Professor of Law at Calcutta.



MALLA-SARUL COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOPA[CANDRA] AND VIJAYASENA

SUKUMAR SEN, M.A., PH.D.

IN the latest issue of the *Journal of Vāṅgīya-Sāhitya-Pariṣad Patrikā* (Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 17-21) Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar has published the text of a copperplate inscription found in 1929 by Babu Sureswar Ray while excavating an ancient tank at Mallasārul, a village lying about 16 miles to the west of Bardwan. The inscription is remarkable in more than one respect. Barring the very short inscription of Candravarma on Susunia hill in Bankura this is the oldest inscription, so far discovered, in West Bengal. On epigraphical evidence Mr. Majumdar assigns it to the sixth century. The donor was Mahārāja Vijayasena who was apparently a vassal of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Gopa-[candra] whom Mr. Majumdar identifies with the Gopacandra of a copperplate inscription found in Faridpur. He also identifies Mahārāja Vijayasena with the Mahārāja Mahāsāmānta Vijayasena in the copperplate inscription of Vaiṣṇyagupta (dated 188 Gupta Era = 507 A. C.) found in Comilla.

The inscription contains (ll.3-5) the following titles of officials of Vardhamāna Bhukti which, as the grant says, was occupied by holy northern Janapadas and was ever prosperous by incessant acts of piety (*punyottarajanopadaśāhyāśītāyāṃ satatadharmakriyācārdhamānāyāṃ cārdhamānabhaktāḥ*):

1. *Kīrtitāyika*;
2. *Kumārāmālya*;
3. *Caturdhatayika*;
4. *Uparika*;
5. *Andraṅgika*—concerned with *udraṅga* "police station" (?);
6. *Āgrahārika*—concerned with *Āgrahāra*;
7. *Aurṇasthānika*—obviously a supervisor in the wool- or silk-producing areas ;
8. *Bhogapatika*;
9. *Viśayapati*;
10. *Tadāyuktaka*;
11. *Hiranyasāmudāyika*;

12. *Paṭṭalaka*—concerned with registration of documents(?) ; *cf.* *paṭṭolī* in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya-Parīṣad Copperplate Inscription of Viśvarūpasena, ll. 32, 53-54, 55 [Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 140, 147];

13. *Avasthika*—supervisor of residences: *cf.* *Vāsūgīrika* in the Ranganj Copperplate Inscription of Išvaraghoṣa, ll. 17-18 [Majumdar *op. cit.*, p. 153];

14. *Devadrōṣīṣombāddha*—concerned with *Devatra* lands.

Besides King Gopa-[candra], the donor Vijayasena and the donee Vatsa-svāmin the following proper names occur: Mahā-Datta, Rājya-Datta, Hima-Datta, Ṣaṣṭhī-Datta, Śrī-Datta; Svarṇa-Yasas (surname Yasas is still current among the Aguris of Burdwan); Dhana-svāmin, *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmanasvāmin; *Khādgi*-Hari, *Khādgi*-Goika, *Khādgi*-Bhadra-Nandin (in the last three names *Khādgi* is obviously an official title, and not part of the proper names as Mr. Majumdar thinks; *cf.* *Khādgi* in the Ranganj Copperplate of Išvaraghoṣa, l. 18); *Vāhanōyaka* Hari (here also *Vāhanōyaka* is an official title); Subha-Datta (who was the *Dātaka*), *Sādhicigrāhika* Bhoga-Candra (who was the *Lakṣaka*); *Pustapala* Jaya-Dēva, by whom the inscription was engraved (*tāpītan*) on the copperplate.

The following village names occur in the inscription: Baktattaka, Ardhakaraka, Nirvṇavātaka, Kapisthavātaka, Vajavallaka, Koḍḍavira, Godhagrāma, Sālmalivātaka; Madhuvātaka, Khaṇḍajojikā (*Khaṇḍajojī-keya*), Vindhya-purā (*Vindhyaपुरेया*), and Vetragarttā. Amragarttikā may be the name of a village or of a pond with mango trees around.

Mr. Majumdar has identified three villages: Baktattaka is now Baktā, (not Baktā as Mr. Majumdar takes it), Godhagrāma now Gohagrāma or Gogā, and Khaṇḍajojikā—now Khārājulī (not Khārājulī as Mr. Majumdar writes it).

Three other villages are also easily identifiable—Ardhakaraka is Ādrā (about two miles to the north of Gohagrām), Kapisthavātaka is Kaitārā near Ādrā; Madhuvātaka is now Mahārā or Maoṛā.* Mr. Majumdar suggests that Sālmaligrāma has now turned into Mallasārul, which is quite untenable. Modern Simuljāogā may represent the old Sālmaligrāma. Some of the villages that cannot now be identified may have been destroyed by erosion of the Damodar.

* This village adjoins Kaitārā. In identifying these villages I have received help from a former pupil Mr. Sudhirkumar Mukherjee, M.A., Saktyaratna.

There are some obvious mistakes of the engraver, most of which Mr. Majumdar has duly noticed. *gatheṣṭera* (l. 23) should be *gatheṣṭhyeṣa*, and *martyānām* (l. 23) is metrically defective. *Vatsa-svāmīno* in *bāhṛṣṇasātsasvāmīno pañcamaḥāyājñam pratipādayitum* (= *pratipādayitum* l. 10), and *vijayasenasya* in *aṣṭau kulyapāpā mahārājajayasenasya* (gen. for dat.) *datiḥ* (text *dattoḥ*, l. 13) are apparently Prakritisms. *eṣām* in *oram eṣām kṛtasīmāñkānām asya brāhmanasya... upabhaṣjānasya na kenacid... svāpṛpyābādhā hastapraṣepo vā kāryaḥ* (ll. 16 17) is either objective or partitive genitive.

Positive solecisms are: *dakṣīṇyām* (l. 15) for *dakṣīṇasyām* and *paścīmasyām* (l. 15) for *paścīṇyām*.

At Home and Abroad

Indian National Congress

The 51st session of the Indian National Congress was held at Haripura last month. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose presided over this session. He is the youngest president of the Congress.

Ministerial Crisis

Following a difference between the Hon'ble Premier of U. P. and His Excellency the Governor on the question of the release of Political prisoners the ministers submitted their resignation and a ministerial Crisis was apprehended. However, good will at last prevailed on both sides and the ministers have resumed their offices at the request of the Governor. A similar incident took place in Bihar but the Crisis fortunately been averted.

Germany's Pact with Austria

Sir John Simon replying for the Foreign Office, in the House of Commons stated that he had been informed by Austrian sources that the main points of the Berchtesgaden agreement were that the Austrian Chancellor was to take far-reaching conciliatory measures with a view to furthering internal pacification in Austria while, on the other hand, Germany had re-affirmed the continuance of the Austro-German Agreement of July, 1936 and had renewed her assurance of non-intervention in Austrian domestic affairs.

The following measures had also been taken by the Austrian Chancellor: firstly a general amnesty declared covering all political offences committed before February 16, providing the offender remained in Austria; secondly, the Government had been reconstructed and Herr von Seyas-Inquart, Minister for the Interior Security, was to be the only representative of National Socialism in the new Cabinet apart from Herr Schmidt who was a member of the last administration.

Thirdly, the case of public officials who would be deprived of their pensions were to be re-examined and fourthly, Austrian National Socialists were to be legally permitted to indulge in political activity within the framework of the patriotic front.

Sir John Simon pointed out that the Austrian constitution of 1934 remained unchanged and announced that measures were to be taken in Germany designed to exclude the interference of German Port officers in Austrian affairs.

Hitler's New Step

The Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers in the United States say that sooner or later it seems inevitable that Czechoslovakia, Memel and even

the Polish Corridor will go the way of Austria, and Mr. Eden's resignation indicates that it may be sooner.

Gen. Hata For China.

General Matsui is being recalled to Tokio, according to a reliable source, Lieut-General Hata, until last year Commander of the army in Formosa is arriving it is reported, to replace General Matsui.

It is suggested that Lieut-General Hata is more diplomatic and the Cabinet intend to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards foreign interests, the Yangtze Customs question and the Shanghai municipal problem.

Britain and Abyssinia

The Abyssinian Association of Great Britain, which claims a large Conservative membership in a telegram addressed to the Premier, demands a free vote of Parliament on the question of the recognition of the Italian annexation of Abyssinia.

Church in Germany

Unexpected concessions to the churches in Germany suggest, says the *Times'* Berlin correspondent, that Herr Hitler has given Dr. Schuschnigg an undertaking for the religious issue.

Herr Hitler has issued an order that it is not considered advisable for S. B. men to give up their membership of the Churches—a remarkable change in policy.

Anthony Eden Resigns

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Cranborne, have resigned.

Mr. Eden's resignation follows differences between him and the Premier on the methods and date of an approach to Italy. Mr. Eden is strongly of the opinion that a settlement of the Spanish problem should precede talks between Britain and Italy.

No announcement with regard to Mr. Eden's successor has been made though the Premier has seen the King. The choice is believed to lie between Lord Halifax and the Premier himself.

Anxiety is felt in some quarters with regard to the consequences of Mr. Eden's resignation and it is suggested that apart from causing a rift in the Cabinet it may even precipitate a general election.

The resignation has been welcomed in Rome and Berlin where Mr. Eden has long been accused of being prejudiced against Germany and Italy. That Lord Halifax might succeed Mr. Eden receives favourable comment in Berlin. [Halifax has accepted the offer—Ed. C.R.]

French circles are disappointed at the resignation of a Minister who was regarded as a good friend of France and of peace but responsible quarters feel that his successor will be bound to follow his policy towards France.

In the United States, where Mr. Chamberlain's recent approaches to Italy and Germany have had a bad Press generally, Mr. Eden's departure is regarded as a serious weakening of the democratic front in Europe.

No surprise has been caused at Geneva. It is, however, feared there that though Britain may now pursue a stronger foreign policy the Government may itself be weakened by the crisis.

Situation in Spain

The Rebels have, after great preparations and herculean attempts, succeeded in capturing some ground around Teruel. This consists of the small strip of region around Sierra Palomera. But the price they paid for it is immensely heavy, since they have lost over man in the attempt, not to speak of the loss in ammunition and war material. The Republican admit regression from the Sierra Palomera section, but claim that it does not in the least impair their hold on Teruel, which is being fortified by them on an impressive scale.

General Franco is nearing extinction, and his recent victory seems to be the precursor of the great collapse that is soon going to occur. From reliable sources it is gathered that Mussolini issued a private "communique" last week withdrawing his Italian troops from Spain for mobilisation in the Brenner Pass. The recent Army purge suggests an intention on Hitler's part to stir up trouble in Austria, a country of vital importance to Italy. To thwart any such Nazi intention Mussolini is keeping his troops ready on the northern frontiers. The withdrawal from Spain of Italians is telling upon the strength as well as the moral of the Rebel army who gave their complete confidence to the Fascists from the beginning of their adventure. The Republican Spain, conscious of this state of affairs in Rebel territory are, therefore, simply biding for time.

British Industrial Output

Britain's greatest industrial output was attained in the last quarter of '37. The index number for the quarter both for manufacturing industries and for all groups represented the greatest volume of production in any quarter for which information is available.

Taking the year as a whole, the Board of Trade Journal states, there was an increase of nearly 7 per cent in the volume of industrial productions as compared with the preceding year. This followed an increase in 1936 and 1935 of about nine and a half and 7 per cent, respectively. The rate of expansion last year was the greatest in the second quarter, namely, 9½ per cent, and the smallest in the fourth quarter 4 per cent. In the first and third quarters the increase was about 7 per cent.

The Amount of Saleable coal raised in December quarter was the largest since March quarter, 1930.

French Census

The population of France has increased by only 81,000 persons in the last five years, according to the last census of March, 1936, figures for which have just been published.

There were, however, 500,000 fewer foreigners in 1936 as compared with 1931, there having been a general exodus owing to the economic crisis, so that it can be stated that the French population proper has increased by about 580,000.

The total population at the last census amounted to 41,506,118 persons, 13,145,184 families, occupying 9,100,687 houses. In 1931 the figures were 41,427,000 persons, 12,990,000 families, occupying 8,880,000 houses. Thus the number of families has increased by about 155,000 and the number of houses occupied by 230,000.

Paris, according to the last census, has 2,782,038 persons; Marseilles 918,520; Lyons 561,625; Nice 262,620.

Jap Military Budget

The extraordinary military budget for the year beginning April 1 provides for 283 millions sterling of which 160 millions is for war office, 60 millions for admiralty and the remainder to reserve. The expenditure on the China incident up to 1st March, 1938 totals 149 millions and the total by 31st March, 1938, is estimated at 432 millions.

Holidays with Pay

The new agreements for increased wages and holidays with pay for workers in the ship-building and ship-repairing industry were accepted by the Confederation of ship-building and engineering unions at a meeting in York.

The meeting expressed great satisfaction with the terms and particularly with the arrangement for holidays with the pay which are to be introduced this year.

Burma and Ottawa Agreement

The draft Government of India (Adaptation of Acts of Parliament (Amendment) Order, 1938), which has been laid before Parliament, is published for General information.

The date March 31, 1938, mentioned in the draft Order is the date up to which the preferences accorded to Burma by the Ottawa agreement are continued in force. The effect of the amendment is to extend this date up to November 30, 1938 and the purpose is to provide against the contingency that a new Agreement will not have been concluded by March 31.

The British Situation

The political situation is full of dramatic possibilities. Conservative Whips are certain of full Conservative backing though political observers opine that Mr. Chamberlain has staked his fate on this throw which may be the beginning of the end of a National Government.

Efforts are being made for the formation of a National Centre with Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill and National Labour leaders. Mr. C. R. Atlee and other Labour leaders are considering their attitude towards such a group. They are unwilling to commit themselves for they feel that if they can force a general election there will be a landslide in favour of Labour. On the other hand the League of Nations and other organisations are planning a national campaign the results of which may be far-reaching.

Quite a lot depends on Mr. Eden who is strongly advised to go for a split in the Conservative party, in which case an appeal to the country is inevitable with possible defeat for Mr. Chamberlain.



News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Teaching of Deaf and Dumb

The Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India held a demonstration of its methods of teaching deaf-mutes at the silver jubilee celebration of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, at Midnapore, and for this purpose two members of the Convention and three deaf-mutes proceeded to Midnapore.

The object of the demonstration was to acquaint the general public with the aims and objects of the Convention, because it is felt that knowledge of the existence of the Convention is not widely enough spread.

In Bengal alone there are 35,000 deaf-mutes, for whom there are some eight institutions, with a total number of students of 325. The Convention feels that this low figure is entirely due to ignorance, and with the object of bringing home to the many thousands concerned the purport of their activities, this demonstration has been arranged.

More demonstrations are also under consideration, one perhaps at the Bengal Teachers Conference, to be held at Khulna, during the Easter holidays, and one in Madras in December this year.

Calcutta School's Work.

The Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School, in Upper Circular Road, is by far the biggest organization of its kind in Bengal. Here boys and girls, drawn both locally and from the mofussil area, are taken in and trained in such a manner as to place them on a par with those more fortunate. When they are first admitted they can very rarely speak, as being unable to hear. Their vocal organs have never been exercised. Consequently it is necessary first to teach them lip reading, and then reading and writing and other elementary branches of education.

There is a large industrial section at the school, in which the boys are taught such trades as tailoring, book-binding, printing and composition, woodwork, smithy-work and turning. The girls are also taught sewing and embroidery.

In regard to the suggestion put forward in a recent letter to the *Statesman*, that facilities for deaf-mutes be introduced in cinemas, such as texts shown beside or under the film and seats fitted with special listening apparatus, the Principal of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School said that such an innovation in Calcutta would be of great service to the deaf.

Before sound pictures were introduced it was possible for such people to enjoy the cinema, and an innovation of that nature would establish conditions almost identical with those of previous years.

Employment Bureau in Dacca University.

In pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Executive Council of the Dacca University, an Employment Bureau has been established with Dr. M. L. Borah as Secretary.

It is contemplated by the Bureau to provide for practical training to select students from the University in different branches of trade, industry and commerce.

The Bureau also aims at the establishment of a closer connection between the University and the employers who are likely to require the services of graduates or under-graduates, and thus hopes to solve the problem of unemployment to some extent among the youths.

Varsity Training in Aeronautics

The military authorities have suggested to the Calcutta University to institute an Aeronautics course at the University in connection with which they are prepared to render all possible help and facility to the University.

The military authorities have further suggested to the University to form a Second Battalion of the Calcutta University Training Corps as they appear to be satisfied with the work of the First Battalion.

College for Quetta

British Baluchistan will shortly have an Intermediate College at Quetta. The Government of India have approved of the proposal and it is hoped construction will commence early in the next financial year.

Proposals for the overhauling of rural education in Baluchistan are also, it is understood, under consideration and important developments are expected.

Primary Education in Burma

A Burma Gazette Extraordinary publishes a bill to provide facilities for the introduction of compulsory primary education in British Burma. The sponsor of the bill is the Education Minister, U Tharrawaddy Maung, who is expected to introduce the measure in the current session of the Burma Legislature.

The statement of objects and reasons of the bill says that it is universally recognised in Burma that free compulsory primary education is a necessity and its progressive introduction according to a definite programme must therefore be an integral part of the policy of the Education Department. This bill is intended to prepare the way for the part of the new educational policy by providing the necessary facilities for it wherever possible and suitable.

National Education.

The Congress Working Committee adopted the following resolution on national education :

' It emphasises the need for introducing free and compulsory education for seven years on a nation-wide scale through the medium of the mother tongue with some form of manual and productive work. It suggests the constitution of an All India Education Board for which Dr. Zakir Hossain and Shri Aryanrao have been authorized to take immediate steps under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji to bring the Board into existence to work a consolidated programme of basic national education and recommends its acceptance to those in charge of the control of state or private education.'

Training in Agriculture

A scheme for a certificate course in agriculture has been prepared by Mr. A. E. Malkani, M.Sc. It provides for a certificate course in agriculture lasting for fifteen months. This period is necessary on account of the geographical, climatological and irrigational conditions prevalent in Sind. The course would provide for practical training in the cultivation of both the Summer and the Winter crops.

The subjects proposed for study include agriculture, chemistry, biology of agriculture, farm economics, elementary surveying and levelling and elementary hydraulics as applied to land irrigation and drainage, English composition and correspondence, practical work in chemistry, dairy and crops raising.

Practical work in crop raising to be provided on blocks of five acres for a batch of four students. The admission will be by a preliminary examination, minimum qualifications being sixth standard pass. The establishment will include a dairy expert and a farm manager. About 100 acres of land will be required for forty students.

Soviet to pay Salaries to College Teachers

With a view to accelerating the advancement of Soviet university education the Council of Peoples Commissars have decided to abolish the present system of paying professors, teachers and assistants of universities and colleges wages by the hour, but will substitute in its stead fixed salaries. Higher stipends will also be given to university students.

Commenting upon the new order, the 'Pravda' declares that the educational status has shown marked improvement during the 20 years of the Stalin regime, adding that the number of universities has increased from 91 in 1914 to 700 in 1936 and the number of students from 112,000 to 542,000.

North Atlantic Research

At the beginning of January, Germany's famous research ship "Meteor" set off on her second voyage of exploration to the North Atlantic Ocean. The ship's former trip took place from the beginning of February to the middle of May, 1937, covered the ocean between the Cape Verde Island and the Canary Islands, making oceanographical and meteorological charts. The present trip, which will last until the middle of July, 1938, is designed to carry out similar researches of the ocean

between the Cape Verde Island and the Canary Island in the east and the West Indies in the west.

Germany and America Exchange Academic Tours

The annual exchanges between German and American schools and colleges is to be continued this year.

Eleven German boys and a master have just arrived in New York, on board the motorship, *St. Louis*. These lads will spend a period of six months in the United States, and, in exchange, a group of young Americans will be able to spend a year in Germany.

The first German group will be replaced by a second at the end of six months.

Bihar Education Code

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bihar and Orissa Secondary School Teachers' Association was held at the Shyamsunder Institution, Bhagalpur. The deliberations continued for more than six hours.

The following alterations in the Bihar and Orissa Education Code were strongly recommended—

(1) All the existing Government schools should be deprovincialised and secondary education should be run by the State on National lines and with a view to bring this into effect. Articles 10, 240 (sub-section 4), 250, Class II (Senior branch), 251 and 252 should be deleted.

(2) A new scale of pay for the teachers of secondary schools and inspecting officers (below the rank of Divisional Inspector of Schools) be brought into force, as early as possible.

Inspection Reform.

To make inspection more useful the inspecting officers be required to give practical helpful suggestions regarding actual teaching by giving demonstration lessons as far as possible.

Plan for Sanskrit

Presiding over a *Panditha Parishad* (Conferences of Sanskrit scholars). Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, appealed to his audience to resuscitate Sanskrit by writing books which would be easily understood by the public.

He said: "Your first duty is to print in accessible and cheap form the great classics in Sanskrit literature. There must be also a new kind of commentary, not the kind of commentary in which the commentator wants to outshine the original and makes things much more difficult than the author had intended them to be, but the kind of commentary which should merely act as a lamp held in your hand in order to behold the picture just for the purpose of lightening the shadows.

"Side by side with that, you may bring out a new idea of poetry and prose written for the purpose of inspiration and not admiration. Wha

should be done is to make these writings real portraits of our daily life. If you do that the place of Sanskrit is assured.'

Empire Exhibition

A dozen exhibits have been finally selected for the British Empire Exhibition at Glasgow. The selection was made by Lady Haig, with the assistance of Mr. Khareghat, Mrs. Gupta and Mr. D. B. Burve.

The exhibits selected are a pair of panels, consisting of two graceful figures of Radha and Krishna in dancing poses, exquisitely embroidered in needlework by Mrs. Rajeshwar Ball; basket work and embroidered caps by Mrs. Mason; an embroidery by Miss Savita Dutt; an embroidery by Lucknow *purdah* women; an embroidery by Mrs. Swarno Dutt; a cloth flower garland by Mrs. D. B. Horve; a clay figure of a woman by Miss Indu Goley; two crowns, a coronet, a necklace and two pairs of armlets, especially made of gold thread embroidery, received through Mr. S. P. Shah.



Miscellany

INTERNATIONAL TRADE BY BARTERSYSTEM.

The opportunity to trade by the "barter system" has proved as beneficial to Italy and Germany as to General Franco of Nationalist Spain. In spite of Italy's efforts to be "autarchic," i.e., self-supporting, she is largely dependent on foreign supplies for many essential minerals. Her shortage of iron became acute in the latter months of 1936 when naval orders and oil contracts made large demands on the iron and steel industry.

This has been eased somewhat by her imports of iron ore from Spain, which have risen from 83,000 tons in 1936 to nearly 180,000 last year, and by scraps from Spain which have increased from 327,000 tons to over 500,000.

Italy is also dependent on imports for adequate supplies of ferrous metals. For imports of manganese ore and ferro-manganese ore from Spain increased from 28,000 tons in 1935 to 75,000 in 1937, while pyrites—mostly from the Rio Tinto—jumped from zero to nearly 10,000 tons.

Germany is as badly in need of barter supplies from Spain as Italy. On account of the moral influence of the Nazis in Franco's territory and the presence of large numbers of Germans in administrative and bureaucratic jobs Germany has been reaping benefits in the commercial line.

As soon as Southern Spain came under Franco's control, a German organisation known as *Hispana* was established with its counterpart, *Berish*, in Germany. This company was given the full monopoly of the exports of the Spanish Moroccan mines, with the iron and manganese ore resources of the Rif at its disposal.

In comparing the latest available German import figures, namely, those for the first half of 1937, with those of the first half of 1936, German imports from Spain show a decline of nearly 50 per cent.

This has caused certain observers to declare that German intervention has proved a costly failure, but there is more to these reports than meets the eye.

First, the 1937 list carefully omits figures of import from Spanish Morocco; secondly, the rich iron ore deposits in the north of Spain were not under Franco's control until the second half of 1937; thirdly, the German import that decreased the most was fruit, due to the fact that in 1937 the fruit districts were in the hands of the Valencia Government, who sold their crops almost exclusively to Russia.

On the trade which Franco controls such as Rio Tinto pyrites, however, German imports increased from £ 417,000 to over £ 580,000.

It is not unreasonable, on the other hand, to take the view that in the event of a complete victory for Franco the Spanish Nationalist Government will be forced to turn to England for a loan. The British capital market has in the long run to be tapped by everybody, nationalist or communist. This may enable the United Kingdom to a certain extent

to deprive Germany and Italy of the hundred per cent exclusive exploitation of the Spanish resources. In every picture of world-economy the natural position of the U. K. as the financial centre virtually of the two Hemispheres cannot but exercise its inevitable influence.

During 1937 Great Britain has been able to sell Spain only 40 per cent. of the goods which she sold her in 1935, the last year before the civil war. One of the most significant drops occurred in goods listed under motor cars, locomotives, ships and air-craft. If Franco can continue to induce British companies to supply him with the necessary sterling for foreign credits, it is not unlikely that he will continue to develop his trade with Italy and Germany along the barter lines.

BEHOY KUMAR SARKAR.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain was enthusiastically received when he addressed an audience of nearly three thousand in London in connection with the Empire Unity campaign.

Mr. Chamberlain said that under the Ottawa agreement British imports from the countries represented there had increased by 41 per cent. while export to those countries had increased by 46 per cent. between 1932 and 1935, and there had been a great increase in imports and exports during the first nine months of 1937. He added,

"So we see that the policy of Imperial Preference in practice has been twice blessed. It has benefited the Dominions and also this country."

During the same period British exports to foreign countries greatly increased. These figures have proved that an increase in Imperial trade, instead of diminishing the foreign trade, had added to the economic stability of the world and, therefore, proved to be a stimulus to international exchange of goods.

Referring to the Imperial Conference after the Coronation, Mr. Neville Chamberlain said, "Never in all the history of the Imperial Conference was the sense of kinship, or better, of fundamental unity between us on all essential issues more clearly demonstrated. There were further efforts that they could make to bring them nearer to their goal, namely the collaboration of other partners in the British Commonwealth in means of defence, in their attitude and relations with foreign powers and in the development of means of communication and the building up of scanty populations with fresh blood."

Referring to the change in the relations between Britain and the Dominions, Mr. Chamberlain said, "I would seek to show the Dominions that we realise their equality and that we are going on every occasion and in all respects to treat them as equal partners with ourselves. We must always be careful not to seem to be pressing upon the Dominions a policy which does not receive their whole-hearted assent and co-operation."

Speaking of the rival systems of government Mr. Chamberlain said, "It is no wish of ours to prescribe to other nations the sort of Government that they should have. For ourselves we prefer and mean to maintain that

form of democracy which we have built up for hundreds of years and which is best suited to the habits and ways and thoughts of our people.

"We rejoice to find that in these great Dominions there, too, are the same forms of democracy, untouched by fascism or communism, standing for the same ideas of peace, liberty and justice that we do ourselves. We realise that by our partnership with these other democracies we are raised from the status of fourth rate Power to be the heart of an Empire which stands in the front rank of all the powers of the world."

BENOV KUMAR SARKAR

THE CABINET AND THE ANTI-CABINET IN THE BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL SYNTHESIS

I am inclined to think that in England there is a sort of dyarchy or joint government of the Cabinet on the one side and the leaders of the Opposition on the other. In England besides having a Cabinet we always have an anti-Cabinet. I should say that English Parliamentary means a system in which the Cabinet in being the active Cabinet is confronted, criticised and checked by the anti-Cabinet which hopes to be and is doing all it can in order to be the Cabinet one day. That is the English secret, if we have any secret.

What does it mean? It means in the first place, a spirit of compromise, a spirit of give-and-take that surely is in the logic of discussion. You discuss and discuss with the other side and end in compromise which is the natural fruit of discussion.

Our English merit, if we have any merit, is that we have a system which is nicely adjusted to the making of compromises. And that is where the House of Commons comes in and resumes the throne of sovereignty between the Cabinet and the anti-Cabinet and both are reconciled in compromise. What is the reconciler? The good sense of the House of Commons, the commonsense of the House of Commons. So long as there is the anti-Cabinet as well as the Cabinet, so long there as is the Opposition as well as the Government, the House of Commons will always come by its own, and we shall not only have compromise, but we shall also not have unqualified leadership of one party or rather of one set of party leaders as you find in single party states called totalitarian states in Central Europe today. In the House of Commons we escape that result and we escape the tyranny of the majority which is the tyranny we fear. We get a compromise between the majority and the minority, a compromise in which the majority gets more of the spoils and the minority gets something. And out of what may be called the majority-minority compromise we also get a continuity. The minority which gets something when it was in opposition will not wish to totally reverse the legislation of its predecessor when it gets into power and will honour the action of its predecessor.

This is our system. We get after all on our system the Cabinet and the anti-Cabinet, and we get after all the sovereignty of the House of Commons and along with that and through that we also get two words and two qualities which also begin with the word 'c,' the word and the quality

of compromise and the word and the quality of continuity.—Prof. Ernest Barker of the University of Cambridge at the Calcutta University Institute, 7th January, 1938.

BENVOY KUMAR SARKAR

MEAT CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA.

The following table (in kilograms* per head of population) furnishes the data on the consumption of meat per head in a certain number of European and extra-European countries, calculated on the basis of the statistics of exports, imports and production:—

Countries.	1923-29 (average).	1930-34 (average).
Argentina	125.8	130.8
New Zealand	108.8	108.8
Australia	107.3	91.5
Canada	80.1	66.4
United Kingdom	62.4	63.7
Denmark	47.0	62.4
United States	62.3	61.9
Ethiopia	38.4	53.4
Germany	40.9	51.1
Switzerland	14.2	47.3
Netherlands	49.3	46.6
France	41.7	49.5
Belgium	36.9	39.2
Sweden	36.7	36.1
Czechoslovakia	34.2	33.3
Norway	31.0	32.1
Finland	28.2	26.7
Russia	22.2	...
Rumania	...	22.0
Poland	18.0	18.7
Italy	19.8	19.1

One kg. = approximately 2 lbs.

In passing in our review from the peoples that are large consumers of meat to those who consume little, there will be found—as may be easily understood—at the head of the first group¹ primitive tribes living in the

* For interpretations of dietary from the standpoint of health and efficiency see the chapter on the "so-called rice-standard of Asia" in H. K. Eckert: *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta 1936).

most northern regions of Asia, Europe and America, as well as the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia—by now, however, almost extirpated—although the majority of these races are not so exclusively carnivorous as is generally believed. Very carnivorous races are found also in other parts of the world; for example, the Kirghis in Central Asia who according to the investigations of the physiologist Kuczynski consume every day—unless they are living in great poverty—one kg. (2 lbs.) of meat at least, but more often from 2 to 2½ kg. besides some litres of *koumiss*, without mentioning the much larger quantities of these two foods which they succeed in consuming at the time of celebrations of any kind.

A consumption of meat not much lower will be found also among a certain number of Hamite tribes, pure or mixed with Negro blood, who are engaged in live-stock farming in the steppe regions of North-East Africa. Among these special mention should be made of the Messai, much discussed during recent years in the literature on the physiology of alimentation. The essential components of their food are raw meat, blood and milk. According to the investigation of Orr and Gilke, the young men of the "moran" or warrior class, consume every day at least over a kg. of meat (1,135 gm.), 2 litres of milk and a certain quantity of blood.

Among the peoples of western civilisation, the largest consumption of meat is found in the countries where the population is originally from Europe: Argentina, New Zealand and Australia, i.e., countries with a superabundance of live-stock and a comparatively small population. From the above Table it appears that the meat consumption per head and per annum, was in Argentina 121 kg., in New Zealand 104 kg. and in Australia 92 kg. It appears also that, for meat consumption as shown by other countries as, for instance, from enquiries into family budgets the workman of the Argentine capital stands first in this respect (91 kg. per annum and per unit of consumption). There can be little doubt that if budget enquiries were available, quite as high a consumption could be noted among the urban workers of Australia and New Zealand.

A smaller consumption figure but still a high one is to be found in Europe. For the majority of the European countries as shown above the average consumption per head and per annum, was from 30 to 60 kg.; in Denmark and in England it exceeded 60 kg. and fell in Russia, Roumania, Poland and Italy respectively to 23, 22, 19 and 16 kg. In other words, the figures of the table prove what might have been expected taking into account differences in climate, distribution of population according to occupations, standard of living, etc., viz., that in the northern and central parts of Europe the consumption is relatively high, while it is low in the East and in the South.—*Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE NEW LAND LAW OF GERMANY.*

It would be difficult to find any other law enacted by the National-Socialist Government which has aroused such wide-spread interest at home

* B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1935), Chapters on Land Reform, and "Malariaism in Land Legislation" (*Calcutta Review*, December, 1937).

and abroad as the *Reichserbhofgesetz* (National Peasants' Estate Succession Act). The creation of these hereditary estates is not entirely novel, for, in many parts of the Reich at least it has only meant the codification of an age-old German custom in estate and succession practice, which has proved its value and necessity for centuries. These estates may not be sold, thus sealing and safeguarding the ties which exist between blood and soil, the preservation of which the *Reichserbhofgesetz* (National Food Corporation) considers one of its principal duties. It is for this reason that the National Food Corporation has inscribed on its seal the motto, *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil).

The Peasants' Estates (Succession) Act came into force on October 1, 1933. The preamble to the Act runs as follows: "1. The German Government intend to preserve the German peasants' estates as the source of the life-blood of the German nation by safeguarding ancient German customs of succession. 2. Peasants' estates are to be protected against indebtedness and partition among the heirs, to the end that they may always be held by free peasants as a family heritage. 3. A sound dispersion of agricultural estates of different sizes must be aimed at, because it is only a large number of prosperous small and middle-sized estates, spread all over the country as evenly as possible, that can guarantee the welfare of people and State."

Some other provisions of the Act may be described as follows:

"1. Agricultural or forest estates, of a size not less than one *Ackeranbauung* (i. e., sustaining a man, his wife, and two children), and not exceeding 125 hectares (roughly 300 acres) shall constitute a hereditary estate within the meaning of the Act, provided it is owned by a person eligible as a peasant.

2. The owner of a hereditary estate shall be known as a peasant (*Bauer*).

3. No one can be a peasant, unless he is a German citizen, of German or kindred stock, and of unblemished character. The hereditary estate shall pass on to the actual heir (*Anerbte*) and shall remain undivided. The rights of the co-heirs are restricted to the peasant's personal property. Descendants not nominated as actual heirs shall be provided, according to the capacity of the property, with a training that will enable them to earn their own living or with a dowry; should they, through no fault of their own, fall into want, they shall be entitled to shelter at the homestead.

4. The rights of the actual heir cannot be modified and must remain unburdened."

The number of such hereditary estates in Germany is about 700,000.

The law is not absolutely rigid, and it is possible, for instance, for a property which exceeds the prescribed size to be declared a hereditary estate within the meaning of the Act. In such a case, however, special conditions must warrant such a procedure. The conditions for such exceptions vary and may be based either on soil or climate or on the length of tenure, when, for instance, a large estate has been in the possession of one and the same family for more than one hundred and fifty years. Moreover, in recognition of meritorious services, German citizens may have their estates proclaimed hereditary estates even where the agricultural property involved exceeds the size laid down by the Act. In this way a family and their landed property are bound together as they always have been in Germany.

But not every one can become a peasant in the new sense of the word. Certain conditions must be fulfilled, including the following:

1. The owner of such an estate must be of German nationality and come from German or kindred stock.

2. The peasant must be of unblemished character. Serious crimes may have the effect of excluding the heir or even deprive him of the property. Neither may any person violating the honour of his class bear the name of peasant.

3. The peasant must be capable of working his estate successfully. This does not necessarily imply that he must, under all circumstances, work with his own hands, nor that the estate must be his permanent residence. He is, however, required to arrange for its proper management. He alone will be held responsible, and may, if occasion arises, be called to account in virtue of the Act. A careless peasant may be deprived of his estate in favour of a better suited heir, a procedure described technically as being *abgesetzt* (dispossessed).

In certain quarters anxiety has been expressed that, as a result of the Peasants' Estates (Succession) Act, the actual heir would be more favoured than his brothers and sisters, or that, in other words, the other children would be at a disadvantage. This opinion, however, is wrong. The peasant who takes possession of such an estate is endowed not only with rights but also with duties. His brothers and sisters, as the retiring heirs, have a claim to sustenance and education. They are further entitled to demand to be trained in a calling corresponding to the status of the estate. In case they should become independent, as for instance when a son goes into business, or the daughters marry, they have a claim to equipment or dowry corresponding to the capacity of the estate. They have also a right to return home whenever, through no fault of their own, they are in need.

It is in accordance with the traditional sense of justice of the peasantry that separate tribunals have been provided for the administration of the Peasants' Estate (Succession) Act, and there the peasants themselves exercise the decisive influence.

BENJOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Creative India: By Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar. Matlal Banarsi Das, Saidnitha Street, Lahore, 1937. Price Rs. 15. Pp. x+714.

Prof. Sarkar has come forward as an appraiser of Indian glory and achievement and his range is wide extending from the days of Mohenjo Daro to modern times. It is indeed a commanding sweep from the earliest civilisation to the days of Ramkrishna-Vivakanda, and he undertakes the work to correct the wrong impressions generally entertained about the peculiar temper and the particular achievements of Hindu civilisation. For this self-chosen task he has made preparations on an extensive scale in articles and journals of all sorts and conditions; and he has at his command a mass of materials almost bewildering which he may well utilise in a new orientation of Indology. It is not a fact (as is even now supposed in "enlightened" quarters) that the Hindus were unworldly and were indifferent to what happened in this life; it is not a fact that they had been victims of superstition; it is not a fact that science or special scientific literature had not found in India a congenial soil; it is not a fact that Hindu intellect has been shy of objective truth:—these are some of the data or postulates with which the writer sets out in this realistic study of India and her people, and his investigations bear him out in his defence of Hindu culture and its comprehensive scope.

It is not correct to say that mysticism or pessimism is a privilege or the monopoly of the orient, and there have been many other misinterpretations of many other ideas and thoughts of the East. There is always the danger that the importance of numerous doctrines will be missed in view of one or two doctrines which may have survived, by present chance, the ravages of time. Thus the facile explanation that *Ahimsa* doctrine may have enervated the people of the country is only a result of perverted views on Indian history.

But our learned author is not satisfied with mere refutations of current heresies. He takes rapid strides from Kautilya to Bernhamihir, and he attempts to point out the growth of idealistic and anti-idealistic systems side by side. He has shown, and successfully, how India was never afraid of outside culture; international culture-contacts were rather in her line. India received them from Iran and Greece, Kosans and Scythians, and Indians moved from place to place to humanise the diverse races, not only of this sub-continent, India, but also of the outside world in all directions—north, east, west south—and mixed her own stream of culture with that of Tibet, Arabia and other countries. Similarly, in modern times, throughout Europe and America, India's *Sakuntala* and *Gita*, *Mona* and the *Upanishads*, are receiving appreciative treatment as the centre of Indian culture. The interest felt in India is strong even to-day when the superiority complex of a particular civilisation is more likely to blind the eyes of scholars to the true perspective of things and relations. We in modern times are apt to forget that ideas of organisation or organised activity were not unknown to Indians in years gone by. Literary associations, hospital works, research academies, political clubs, trade or caste guilds and other examples of corporate activity have been found in the history of India by competent scholars.

Why then did India succumb so easily to foreign invasions and western powers? Our critics never hesitate to declare that our political downfall is to be attributed sometimes to our Vaishnavism, sometimes to our Buddhism, sometimes even to our Vedantism. This is hardly fair. Our states were never theocracies, never dominated by religion. But India is almost a continent like Europe through its vast extent and assemblage of different cultures. The interrelation of the different states has been as complex as their parallels in Europe, and just as we cannot speak of a political unity of Europe, so in the past we had not the slightest idea of one Indian nation. The result has been that different groups of men hurled themselves against other and equally powerful groups, and though *Sakti* or power had been extolled, unity had not been evolved in the process. Prof. Sarkar then dives into the region of finance, and shows that the financial arrangements in ancient and mediæval India, especially in the Southern districts, were by no means primitive, but they had in them the rudiments of a complex and scientific achievement. The all-round development of India has convinced the learned author that India's creative powers have not yet been exhausted. That is the ray of hope which bears us up in all circumstances.

A few examples of inadvertence may be noted in passing. The Gujrati founder of a literary age was Gotambandas Madhabram Tripathi, not Gobardhanram Madhabram; nor was he the founder of the Gujrati Sahitya Parishat (as stated on p. 575). In an account of paintings of Modern Bengal, the name of Jamini Ray has not been mentioned at all, though the author notes carefully that painters are trying to stick to ancient art and its technique. It will not be out of place to mention here that Jamini Ray occupies a unique position, unique in his austere pursuit of the ideal of Bengal art which he has set before him. Again, the first Greek influence in modern Bengali writers is not through Aurobindo but through Jyotirindranath Tagore whose plays had been influenced by Greek ideas. Aurobindo's critical output, his criticism of English literature and the fundamentals of his criticism are liable to be overlooked in the craze for his spiritual ideas, and therefore they require to be specifically mentioned. In the list of distinguished contributors to researches in Hindu Mathematics the names of two professors have been omitted but they deserve to be included, if not by the quantity of their work then by its quality. One of them is dead and the other retired from service a few years ago. The names are Saradakanta Ganguli and Pralodchandra Sengupta. One expected their inclusion in a work like this.

Prof. Sarkar's book is an encyclopaedia of information on India, ancient and modern, and his solid achievement is an effective counterblast to cheap handbooks of Indian culture that seem to spring from time to time according to the fashion of the day. It deserves to find a ready welcome with all book-lovers, and as a reference book it will prove simply invaluable.

PHIYARANJAN SEN

Ourselfes

[I. The Late Rev. Fr. F. X. Crohan, S.J.—II. Mr. S. P. Mookerjee.—
III. The Hindusthani Academy.—IV. Commemorative Address by the Rev. C. F.
Andrews.—V. Delegates to the Bengiya Sahitya Sammelan.—VI. Mahabada
Sundari Gold Medal for 1937.—VII. Mr. Humayun Kabir.—VIII. Centennial
Celebration by Duke University, Durham.—IX. All-India Population and Family
Hygiene Conference.—X. Indian History Congress.—XI. Sri Bahadur Prof.
K. N. Mitra]

I. THE LATE REV. FR. F. X. CROHAN, S.J.

The Syndicate at its meeting of the 14th February last placed on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of the Rev. F. X. Crohan, S.J., who had been associated with the University as a Fellow for a period of 25 years and had rendered valuable services to the cause of education in the province in various capacities, particularly as Professor in one of the most important institutions affiliated to the University.

II. MR. S. P. MOOKERJEE

Our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.S., has been elected by the North-Eastern Group of Universities to represent them on the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee who represents this University on the Inter-University Board, India, has been re-appointed for a term of 5 years to represent this University on the same Board with effect from the 1st April, 1938, when his present term of office will expire.

III. THE HINDUSTHANI ACADEMY

The sixth literary conference of this Academy will be held at Allahabad on the 19th and the 20th March, 1938. It will endeavour to promote the interests of the Hindi and Urdu languages through the help of scholars and literary men who have been invited to attend it. Our University has forwarded its good wishes to the organizers.

IV. CONVOCATION ADDRESS BY THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS

Rev. C. F. Andrews was invited to deliver the Convocation Address at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University this year.

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V. DELEGATES TO THE BANGIYA SAHITYA SAMMELAN

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.LITT., and Rai Bahadur Professor Kbagendranath Mitra, M.A., were appointed delegates to represent our University at the twenty-first anniversary of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan, held at Krishnagar last February.

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VI. MOKSHADA SUNDARI GOLD MEDAL FOR 1937

The award of this medal for 1937 has been made to Srimati Kamala Debi who submitted an essay on the "Life of Sir Surendranath Banerji."

* * *

VII. MR. HUMAYUN KABIR

Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A., M.L.C., Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy, Calcutta University, has been elected a Member of the Court of Aligarh Muslim University from among the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures for a term of five years commencing from January, this year.

* * *

VIII. CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION BY THE DUKE UNIVERSITY, DURHAM

The Duke University, Durham, which will soon complete a hundred years of its existence, will begin its Centennial Celebrations in October next which will culminate in the formal celebration of the anniversary on April 21, 22 and 23, 1939. It will invite learned societies to send delegates on the occasion. Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the Committee authorized to conduct the celebration.

* * *

IX. ALL-INDIA POPULATION AND FAMILY HYGIENE CONFERENCE

The All-India Population Conference will hold its second session during Easter this year in Bombay where the First Family Hygiene Conference will also be held during the same period. Our University has responded to the invitation to send delegates by conveying its good wishes.

X. INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The next session of this Congress will be held at Allahabad during the Easter holidays, commencing on the 15th April, and terminating on the 18th. Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., PH.D., has been appointed to represent this University on the Congress.

XI. RAI BAHADUR PROF. K. N. MITRA

Rai Bahadur Professor Khugendranath Mitra has been elected a member of the Senate by the Faculty of Arts with effect from the 21st January, 1938.

BUSINESS NOTE.

EASTER HOLIDAY AND TRAVEL FACILITIES.

Easter is the brightest holiday of the Spring Season in Bengal and is best suited for outings and sight-seeing. The slogan "Travel in comfort" applies more to Easter than any other holidays. At this time there is no chilly wind of the winter nor the scorching heat of Summer.

As in previous years, this year too, the Eastern Bengal Railway have come forward, well in advance of Easter, with the announcement of their Easter Holidays Concession Return Tickets issued on liberal bases of fares for First, Second and Inter Classes at $1\frac{1}{3}$ single fares and for Third Class upto 200 miles, at $1\frac{2}{3}$ single fares and at $1\frac{1}{2}$ single fares for distances over 200 miles. This tickets which will be issued from 8th April to 18th April 1938, will be available for completion of return journey upto midnight of 2nd May 1938. They carry with them the usual concession of break-journeys at any intermediate station provided no part of the line is travelled over more than once in the same direction.

With a view to afford extensive travel facilities to the public, the E. B. Railway have also announced their widely patronized "TRAVEL-AS-YOU-LIKE" Season Tickets which have become a "Special feature" of their holiday concessions at the minimum possible cost of Rs. 60 for First, Rs. 47 for Second, Rs. 15 for Inter and Rs. 10 for Third Class. These tickets will also be issued from 8th April to 18th April 1938 and will be available for unrestricted travel over the entire system for 15 days. Business men, tourists, educationists and students will find these tickets specially useful for their trips to centres of trade, places of historic interest, archaeological ruins, resorts of scenic beauty and hill stations of bracing and healthy climate.

EAST BENGAL SOCIETY

The East Bengal Society the big Bengali concern dealing with Dhootis and Sarees are doing fairly well under the able management of Mr. K. C. Shome, B.A. Records show that their business has increased to a considerable extent and other departments have accordingly been opened. The ever-increasing prosperity of the firm indicates what an educated Bengali can do in the domain of business.

